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ABSTRACT

This report describes an experiment carried out in Baltimore between 1971 and 1974 which was designed to determine, using 432 ex-prison inmates, whether small amounts of financial aid would reduce recidivism among high-risk offenders recently released from prison. The opening section outlines the rationale for financial aid, the research design, the characteristics of the participants, and the urban setting in which they lived. The second section assesses the influence of financial aid and employment assistance on different types of postrelease behavior. Reflecting a review of court records, as well as the results of prerelease and monthly postrelease interviews, this section explores first- and second-year arrest and conviction rates, employment experience, and the contrasting lifestyles of financial aid recipients and nonrecipients. The third section provides three composite portraits of "typical" participants and traces their experiences in the 13 weeks following release. The final section offers a summary analysis and some concluding observations concerning the possible role of financial aid in reducing the economic and social costs of criminal recidivism. The appendixes combine the research design and a sample prerelease interview form. (HD)

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Unlocking the Second Gate

The Role of Financial Assistance in Reducing Recidivism Among Ex-Prisoners

R&D Monograph 45

U.S. Department of Labor
W. J. Usery, Jr., Secretary
Employment and Training Administration
William H. Kolberg
Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training
1977

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PREFACE

This report describes a Department of Labor-sponsored research project that explored the impact of financial aid and job placement on the post release experience of 432 ex-prison inmates in Baltimore, Md., between 1971 and 1974. The monograph reviews the results of the Baltimore experiment and assesses the influence exerted by financial aid on criminal recidivism, social relations, purchasing patterns, and other aspects of the participants' postrelease behavior. It was prepared by Dr. Kenneth J. Lenihan, the project director. Dr. Florence M. Casey of the Office of Research and Development, Office of Policy, Evaluation and Research, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, provided editorial assistance.

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Every year, some 90,000 inmates leave prison, having completed their sentences or obtained parole. In almost every respect, their prison experience and previous personal histories leave them at a severe disadvantage in competing for jobs and pay. According to a nationwide survey conducted during January 1974,[1] for example, some 191,400 adult or youthful offenders were then in State correctional facilities, including approximately 187,500 sentenced inmates. Almost all of them were men, about half (51 percent) were white, and some three-fourths (74 percent) were between 18 and 34 years of age. Over 60 percent lacked a high school diploma, and about one-third had been jobless in the month preceding the arrest leading to their sentence. Nearly half had never been married (in contrast to 28 percent of all civilian men of comparable age), and only about 27 percent had been in the U.S. Armed Forces (compared with 43 percent of men aged 18 and over in the general population). Of those with military experience, some 20 percent had received general discharges under other than honorable conditions and 5 percent had dishonorable discharges.

According to the same survey, the median annual income of inmates who had held full-time jobs after December 1968 or who had been employed during the month preceding their arrest had been about $4,600. The median duration of their most recent job was about 8 months, and nearly 70 percent of those employed since December 1968 or in the month prior to their arrest had worked most recently as nonfarm laborers, operatives, or craftworkers (in contrast to only 47 percent of employed civilian men aged 16 years and over in these blue-collar occupations).

Approximately 70 percent of the inmates had incurred prison sentences in addition to the one they were currently serving, and over 30 percent had served time as juvenile offenders. About 38 percent had been granted parole at some time in the past.

Whether or not they have ever been imprisoned, individuals with such economic and educational disadvantages often require weeks or months, if not longer, to find steady employment at a reasonable wage. Nonetheless, the vast majority of inmates leave prison with financial resources that cover their needs for no more than a few days. Some observers of the penal system have suggested that high rates of recidivism among ex-offenders may be traced, at least in part, to the economic pressures confronting them immediately after they regain their freedom—economic pressures that constitute, in effect, a second prison "gate," which must be unlocked before the inmate can be said to be truly freed.

The released offender also experiences special difficulties in securing welfare assistance or unemployment insurance (UI). Since most offenders are men under 65 years of age and physically able to work, they usually fail to meet the eligibility requirements of Federal or State income security programs. In a number of jurisdictions, moreover, the male inmate's return causes his family to lose benefits formerly received from such programs as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Supplemental Security Income. Even in those jurisdictions where AFDC is provided to households with an unemployed father present, benefits may be withheld if the father is unable to establish a significant work history over the previous 13 quarters—a requirement that disqualifies most recently released inmates.

Almost all newly released offenders are ineligible for unemployment compensation. They fail to qualify because work experience in covered jobs held more than 12 to 18 months previously (depending on the State) is generally not counted toward establishing entitlement to UI benefits. Hence any potential benefit entitlements ex-in-

[1] *Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974 Advance Report* (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, March 1976).

mates may have had at the time they were separated from their previous employment may well have lapsed by the time they are released and ready to reenter the labor force. It is difficult to calculate a dollar total for these entitlement losses, because of variation in State requirements and benefit levels. In Georgia, however, 459 formerly employed prisoners experienced an estimated entitlement loss of approximately $250,000 in 1975 (roughly $550 per person), while the comparable figure for 105 previously employed prisoners in Texas was $75,000 (roughly $700 each).

It was against this background that the Department of Labor sponsored an experiment carried out in Baltimore between 1971 and 1974, which was designed to determine whether small amounts of financial aid would reduce recidivism among high-risk offenders recently released from prison. Of the 432 men participating in the LIFE (Living Insurance for the Ex-Prisoners) experiment, one-fourth received both a weekly stipend equivalent to $60 for 13 weeks and assistance in finding a job, one-fourth received only the financial assistance, another fourth only the job service, and the remainder neither money nor employment assistance. The results of the study indicate that the number of men arrested for crimes of theft (as well as the number of returns to prison) can be reduced perceptibly by providing ex-inmates with a small weekly income, in amounts roughly equivalent to average unemployment compensation benefits, for a few months after their departure from prison.

Major findings of the experiment can be summarized as follows:

- *Impact of financial aid on arrests for theft*

1. The financial aid was expected to reduce economically motivated crimes (robbery, burglary, and larceny), and the data show that it did.[2] During the first year after release, 22.2 percent of the men receiving money were arrested for theft, while 30.5 percent of those *not* receiving money were arrested—a difference of 8.3 percentage points and an effective reduction of 27 percent in the potential number of arrests for such crimes.[3] For all other charges—murder, assault, rape, etc.—the rates were the same or the difference was not statistically significant.

2. The reduction in the number of crimes and the number of victims was greater than the 8.3 percentage point difference in arrest rates appears to suggest, since conservative estimates indicate that there are about eight crimes of theft for each theft arrest. Among the group receiving money, 48 men were arrested for crimes of theft; when this number is multiplied by 8, it comes to 384 theft crimes. In contrast, 66 men *not* receiving money were arrested for theft, and this number, multiplied by 8, comes to 528 crimes. The best estimate, therefore, is that the 432 men participating in the study committed 144 fewer crimes with at least 144 fewer victims because of the financial aid.

- *Impact on the timing of arrests*

The aim of the financial program was to help tide men over from the day of release from prison until they found suitable employment or otherwise became economically self-sufficient. Whether they found employment or not, however, the financial aid ended after they had received their total allotment of $780, usually after the 13th week. The money, therefore, was originally expected to have its strongest impact during the first few months, and apparently it did. Those *without* financial aid were arrested earlier; their median week of arrest for theft was the 27th after prison release. For those who *did* receive financial aid, in contrast, the median week of arrest was the 34th.

- *Impact on court outcomes and second-year arrests*

1. Whether charged with theft or other crimes, the men receiving financial aid were less likely to be convicted than those not receiving such assistance (26 percent vs. 32 percent) and less likely to be returned to prison (17 percent vs. 20 percent).

2. The difference in arrest rates of recipients and nonrecipients of financial aid was established by the sixth month following their release from prison. Significantly, however, the difference persisted for at least another 18 months with no more than a small change. Two years after release, the difference in the arrest rates of the two groups was 7.9 percentage points, a slight narrow-

[2]For brevity, the term "theft" is used in this report as synonomous with larceny, burglary, and robbery, although the author is aware that its legal meaning is limited to larceny, excluding robbery and burglary. An examination of the specific charges shows that the difference occurs only for burglary and larceny—not robbery. If robbery is removed from the theft grouping and the examination is limited to burglary and larceny, there is an 11-percentage-point difference between those who received money and those who did not. But to exclude robbery from the theft category—to change the definition of theft after the fact—would be to break the rules of experimentation. In this analysis, therefore, robbery is included in the category of theft, and the effect of financial aid is considered to be the difference in all theft arrests—8 as opposed to 11 percentage points.

[3]The probability that this difference could happen by chance is only 3 or 4 out of 100. Since it is so low, the best interpretation is that the difference is due to the financial aid and not to chance.

ing of the 8.3-percentage-point difference registered in the first year.

- *Impact on employment rates*

The project sponsors were concerned lest the availability of financial aid might make some men lose interest in working. To minimize the disincentive, the sponsors guaranteed that a man would not lose his financial aid if he worked. The weekly amount was reduced, but the payments were extended beyond the 13 weeks until he had received his full $780.[4] Despite this arrangement, financial aid may still have been a disincentive: some men may have waited until they collected their full amount before taking a job.

If there was a disincentive, however, it was slight and short lived; by the 17th week, the two groups of men—those getting financial aid and those not receiving it—had the same employment rate. (And before the 17th week, they differed by only a few percentage points.) After the 24th week, the men who received financial aid had a higher employment rate than those who did not. And this difference continued, so that 47 percent of the men who received financial aid were employed at the end of the year, in contrast to 41 percent of the men without financial aid.

- *Impact of the job service*

Measured by the rearrest data, financial aid was indeed effective, but the job placement service was not. In fact, the men offered the job placement service had a slightly higher rearrest rate than those not offered the service. And there was no combined effect; that is, men who received both financial aid *and* the job placement service did no better than those who received only financial aid.

Following completion of the Baltimore LIFE experiment, the Department of Labor launched the 2-year Transitional Aid Research Project for Ex-Offenders (TARP), a larger scale experimental and demonstration project in Georgia and Texas, cosponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

[4]Weekly payments were reduced according to the following schedule of earnings:

Weekly gross earnings	*Weekly financial aid*
Less than $40	$60
$40 to $49	$55
$50 to $59	$50
$60 to $69	$45
$70 to $79	$40
$80 to $89	$35
$90-$99	$30
$100 to $109	$25
$110 to $119	$20
$120 to $150	$15
Over $150	0

TARP is testing the effects of short-term financial and job placement assistance on the recidivism and labor market experience of a more diversified population of released offenders than the participants in the Baltimore experiment. (For example, women, first offenders, and inmates with a history of alcohol or drug abuse were not excluded, as they were in Baltimore.) Each State has provided 775 ex-offenders for four experimental groups and another 1,200 for the control (no assistance) group. Some participants will receive aid for 13 weeks and others for 26 weeks. Financial assistance payments are in amounts equivalent to average unemployment compensation in each State. The TARP experiment will conclude at the end of fiscal 1977.

The remainder of this report describes the Baltimore experiment in some detail. The opening section outlines the rationale for financial aid, the research design (including the index of recidivism adopted by the experimenters), the characteristics of the participants, and the urban setting in which they lived. The second section assesses the influence of financial aid and employment assistance on different types of postrelease behavior. Reflecting a review of court records, as well as the results of prerelease and monthly postrelease interviews, this section explores first- and second-year arrest and conviction rates, employment experience, and the contrasting lifestyles of financial aid recipients and nonrecipients. Beyond the important differences in their rates of recidivism, the two groups also showed measurable differences in their degree of financial independence from family or friends, in their welfare dependency, and in the ways in which they disposed of their available funds. The results of a Department of Labor funded cost-benefit analysis of the LIFE project are also reported at the end of this section.

The third section provides three composite portraits of "typical" participants and traces their experiences in the 13 weeks following release. This section is drawn from the extensive interview material obtained before and after release and is intended to convey the special nature of the participants' day-to-day experiences in reestablishing family and other social relationships, seeking employment, and adapting in other ways to the demands of life "outside."

The final section offers a summary analysis and some concluding observations concerning the possible role of financial aid in reducing the economic and social costs of criminal recidivism.

THE EXPERIMENT AND THE PARTICIPANTS

The Rationale for Financial Aid

The Baltimore experimental program provided financial aid (in the form of $60 a week for 3 months) and job placement assistance to a selected population of men leaving Maryland State prisons. The aim of the experiment was two-fold: (1) To test whether either or both of these services could ease the adjustment from prison to the labor market and (2) to determine whether either service or both together could reduce the rate of recidivism. A total of 432 men participated in the study over a period of almost 3 years, from September 1971 until July 1974.

The financial aid experiment was based on a number of assumptions: (1) That some persons steal because they want or need money but don't have it; (2) that newly released prisoners without money and under sudden pressure to pay for their own food, clothing, and shelter are especially likely to steal; and (3) that, if such persons are given financial assistance or are able to earn money during the difficult transitional months following release from prison, they may be less likely to steal.

Implicit in such a perspective is the view that for some people, certain crimes of theft (robbery, burglary, and larceny) are economically rational acts—that is, for the person committing a property crime, the act is purposeful and, considering the alternative ways of getting money available to the offender, is also efficient. The ex-inmate may have no job, few skills, and little or no experience that would help in finding employment—or, even with skills and experience, may not be able to get a job because of a criminal record. But he or she can get money—easily, quickly, and efficiently—by stealing. This is not intended to justify theft but simply to say that, under certain circumstances, for some people, it may appear to make sense.[1]

The intended role of the job placement service was similar, but the ways in which employment affects recidivism are somewhat less clear cut. Although there is widespread agreement that ex-prisoners with jobs are less likely to recidivate, no one knows whether employment itself is the causal factor and, if it is, just how it operates. At least three interpretations (not mutually exclusive) are possible:

1. Released prisoners with jobs have less need of money and are therefore less likely to steal.

2. With jobs, their social life is structured. They have less time and opportunity to steal, and they develop rewarding social relationships that would be disrupted by encounters with the law.

3. Those who find jobs may have qualities of character ("maturity," for example) that enable them both to find a job and to avoid rearrest. In other words, the relationship between working and avoiding crime may result from a third factor, which remains unknown.

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[1]Admittedly, crimes of theft may seem less rational in light of the risk of being hurt or killed or apprehended and sent to prison. But the possibility of apprehension, although it varies with the crime and the skill of the person committing it, is usually quite small. Most crimes do not end in arrest, and, when arrest occurs, it is relatively unlikely to result in a return to prison. FBI reports show that one in three robbery complaints and only one in five burglary and larceny complaints are cleared (end in arrest or at least identification of the offender). Victimization studies show that only about half of the crimes of theft are reported to the police. And, as data for one study suggest, only about a third of the men who are rearrested for theft receive a prison sentence. See, for example, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1972*, issued by Clarence M. Kelley, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20535 and Philip H. Ennis, *Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey*, 1967, Field Survey No. 2 (a report of a research study submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice). See also *Crime in the Nation's Five Largest Cities, Advance Report* (Washington: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, April 1974).

Antecedents of the Baltimore Project

The Baltimore project grew out of past research and demonstration projects of the Department of Labor's Manpower Administration,[2] in particular George Pownall's study of Federal prisoners after release, in which prisoners were asked how much money they had to begin life all over again.[3] Their responses made it clear that financial need was the rule rather than the exception. Pownall's study also seemed to confirm what other postprison research supports: that released prisoners who get jobs are less likely to be rearrested.

As background to the Baltimore study, a nationwide survey was conducted in order to find out how much money prisoners have when they are released from prison—particularly in the form of the "gate money" they may receive when they are released. As reported by correctional departments, the amount of gate money paid most frequently in 1971, either as a fixed amount or as supplement to savings, was between $20 and $29.[4]

A later survey, conducted by the American Bar Association, reveals that a number of States have since augmented their gate money allotments (and four have initiated payments for the first time), so that the average payment in 1975 was about $75.[5] Inflationary conditions, however, have reduced the purchasing power of the 1975 average by a considerable margin. Chart 1 shows the distribution of maximum gate money allotments by State at the end of 1975.

Some inmates do have savings when they are released. In Maryland, for example, among 2,850 prisoners released from the State prisons between March 1, 1972, and February 28, 1973, 8 percent had saved over $400 and another 18 percent had between $100 and $400. The large majority (74 percent) had less than $100, however, and the few with sizable savings had either been in prison a long time, working at relatively well-paying jobs, or had spent a few months on work release. Most often, in fact, the money in a prisoner's savings account comes from friends and relatives, since it is almost impossible to save money on standard inmate wages (50¢ to $1 a day in Maryland), considering the cost of cigarettes, candy bars, stationery, and toiletries.

The wages paid in Maryland were not unusual, compared with those paid elsewhere. The 1971 survey of prison wages in all State systems, including the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, plus the Federal correctional system, showed the following breakdown:

—6 jurisdictions paid no wages at all.
—17 jurisdictions paid less than 50¢ a day
—21 jurisdictions paid between 51¢ and $1.
—9 jurisdictions paid more than $1 a day.

In short, most released prisoners have very little to fall back on. If they want to avoid immediate reentry into the world of crime, they usually have to get a job very soon or rely on family or friends for support. It was this problem that the Baltimore experimental program was designed to alleviate.

The Research Design

The Baltimore experiment featured a four-group design, in which:

—One group would receive both financial aid and the offer of job placement service.

—A second group would get financial aid but no job placement assistance.

—A third group would be offered the job placement service but would receive no financial aid.

—A fourth group would receive neither service.

The amount of financial aid was fixed at $60 a week for 13 weeks. At best, the weekly stipend provided no more than survival money, but the sum was determined by a practical consideration: it was the average weekly amount paid to those receiving unemployment compensation in Maryland.

Members of each group would be interviewed once a month for a year after their release. (As an incentive to remain associated with the study, those not receiving financial aid would be paid $5 plus carfare for each interview.) After a participant completed a year out of prison, a search of the court records would be made to determine if

[2] On Nov. 12, 1975, the Secretary of Labor changed the Manpower Administration's agency designation to the Employment and Training Administration. Program activities and responsibilities were not affected by the change. References in the text of this monograph are to the agency name at the time of discussion. References to publications are to the agency name at the time of publication.

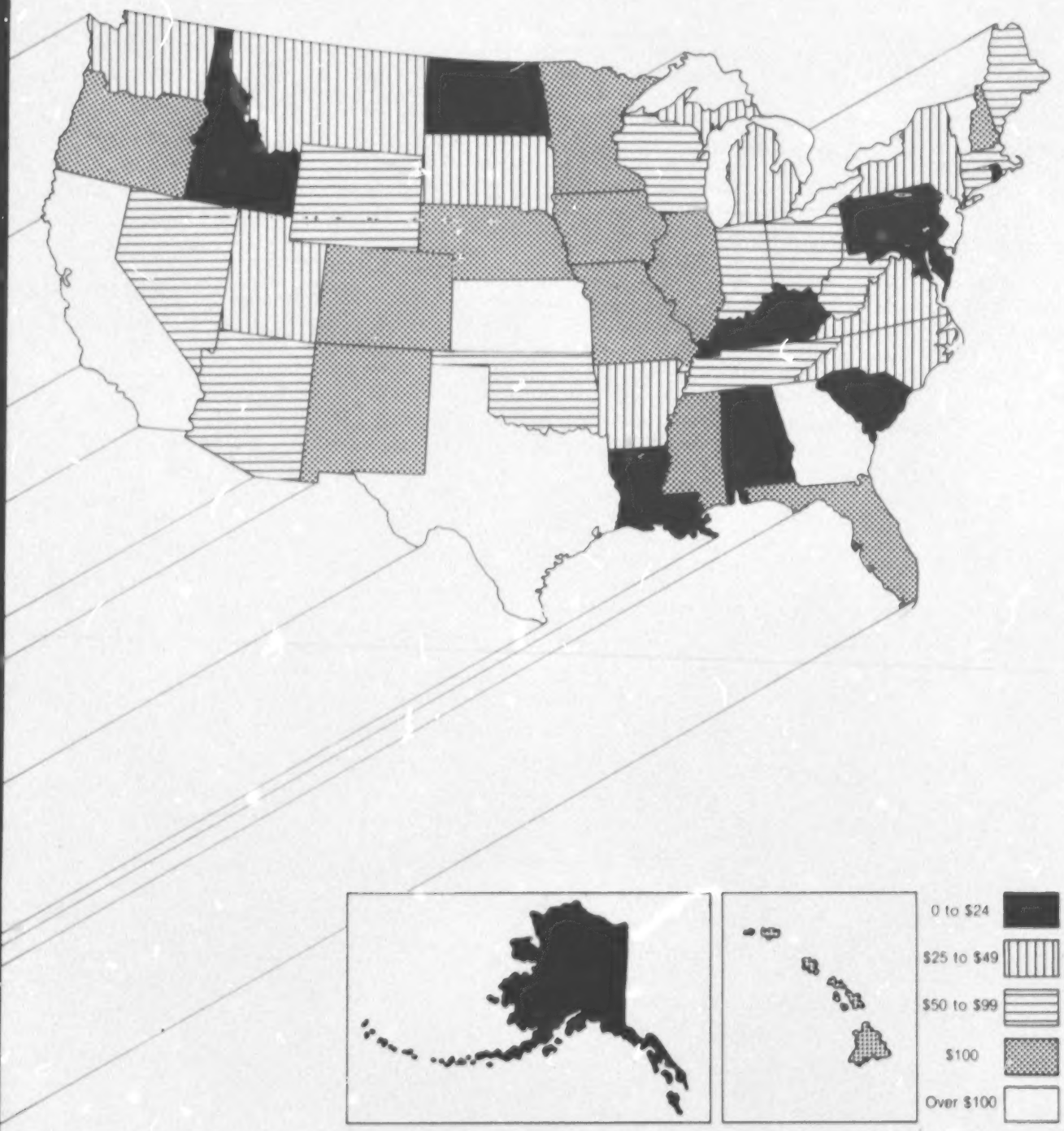
[3] George A. Pownall, "Employment Problems of Released Prisoners" (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1969). (Mimeographed.)

[4] Kenneth J. Lenihan, *The Financial Resource of Released Prisoners* (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1974).

[5] Robert Horowitz, *Back on the Street—From Prison to Poverty: The Financial Resources of Released Offenders* (Washington: American Bar Association, Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, June 1976).

Chart 1.

Maximum "Gate Money" Allotments, by State, 1975



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he had been arrested during that period and, if so, what the outcome of his case(s) had been.

A high-risk population of ex-prisoners was selected purposely for this experiment by excluding those—such as first offenders—who were least likely to be rearrested.[6] Also excluded were groups having a relatively low rate of recidivism, as well as those whose criminal behavior did not appear so closely linked to their economic situation as that of people who commit property crimes. Besides first offenders, they were:

1. Men who had never committed a property crime (robbery, burglary, or larceny).
2. Men who were either over 45 years of age, had over $400 in savings, or had spent 3 months on work release (criteria that are almost interchangeable in practice).[7]

Alcoholics and heroin users were excluded from the study, not because they were low-risk subjects, but because no program was available to help them control their habits and because there was no way to prevent them from spending the assistance on these substances. Also excluded from the target population were men who said "no" when asked before their release if they would be willing to participate in a research study for a year after leaving prison.[8] Men who were not returning to Baltimore after release were omitted because of the difficulty of administering interviews in more than one city. Finally, some men who were out working on a road gang or had committed an infraction of the prison rules were excluded simply because they were unavailable for an interview.[9]

True random assignment of the target population was used to avoid selective refusal and selective loss of subjects in any of the four groups. Once a subject was identified as eligible and willing to participate, he was classified according to age, work experience, and marital status. On the basis of his classification according to these characteristics, he was randomly assigned to the next opening in one of the four main study groups. Since the distribution of background characteristics among the four study groups was equalized at the outset, the later differences among the four groups can be traced with relative confidence to the different treatments they received.

Participant Characteristics

Although the selection criteria yielded a target population that had a higher-than-average potential for rearrest, the men in the study were similar in other respects to most prison populations.[10]

Seventy percent of the participants in the study were aged 25 years or younger, including nearly 30 percent who were under 21 (see table 1). Participants over 25 years of age were about equally divided between men who were in their late twenties and those in their thirties or early forties.

Relatively few (12 percent) were married or separated/divorced (14 percent), but about half reported during their prerelease interviews that they were fathers. As a group, they showed severe educational disadvantage; about 3 out of 5 had not reached the 10th grade, another 28 percent had failed to reach the 12th, and no more than 3 percent reported that they had attended college.

Their distribution by race (87 percent black and 13 percent white) reflected the racial/ethnic composition of Maryland's multiple-offender population but was not necessarily typical of similar populations in other States. All resided in Baltimore or its environs, and nearly one-third report-

[6] A followup study of all those who had been excluded showed that the first offenders did indeed have a low rearrest rate. During the year following release, only 13 percent of the excluded first offenders were rearrested on any charge, and only half of these for robbery, burglary, or larceny. In contrast, the study's target population had a total rearrest rate for first year after release of over 50 percent, with charges of robbery, burglary or larceny accounting for half of the arrests.

[7] The followup study of those who had been screened and rejected confirmed expectations about these categories. Those who had never committed a property crime (i.e., those who had been imprisoned for assault, murder, rape, or other sex crimes) had a rearrest rate of 7.8 percent—or only 1.2 percent if only arrests for crimes of theft are considered. No one over 45 years of age was rearrested, and the rate for men who had saved $400 or had spent 3 months on work release was 9.6 percent, including only 3.2 percent for theft crimes.

[8] The exclusion in advance of random assignment of anyone who refused to participate eliminated the possibility that selective refusal would disturb the equal distribution of men into four groups; however, once a man had agreed, "in prison, to participate in the 12 monthly interviews (which was all he was told about at that point), he remained an official subject of the study whether or not he cooperated thereafter, i.e., showed up for his monthly interview. If he didn't, staff went out to find him and to conduct the interview wherever he was. It would appear that, by excluding men who refused to cooperate, were alcoholics or heroin users, or were in segregation for breaking a prison rule, the staff risked diluting the high-risk population by rejecting men who would probably be susceptible to rearrest. However, as it turned out, there was a low rate of rearrest for every group excluded, including heroin users and alcoholics, particularly if only rearrests for theft are counted.

[9] The target population also excluded men who were released on court order or who had a warrant or detainer against them. Those released on a court order had a reversal on their conviction or a reduced sentence. They are usually released within 24 hours and without advance notice; so they could not be included in the study. Men with warrants or detainers are usually turned over to another jurisdiction. (However, if an officer of the other jurisdiction is not present at release, the man goes free. Once again, this occurs with no advance notice.) Finally, this study did not include women or men under 18 years of age. Women were excluded because there were too few (roughly 100) in Maryland prisons to permit meaningful conclusions about their postrelease experience and youth because of their legal status as minors.

[10] See appendix B for a detailed presentation of participant characteristics, based on the prerelease interviews.

TABLE 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY AGE, MARITAL STATUS, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND GROUP ASSIGNMENT

Characteristic	Total	Group assignment			
		I (Financial aid and job service)	II (Financial aid only)	III (Job service only)	IV (Neither financial aid nor job service)
Age:					
20 years and under..	29.4	27.8	25.9	28.7	35.2
21 to 25 years	40.5	40.7	40.7	40.7	39.8
26 to 30 years	15.3	14.8	16.7	16.7	13.0
31 years and over ...	14.8	16.7	16.7	13.8	12.0
Marital status:					
Married	12.3	9.3	13.0	13.9	13.0
All other	87.7	90.7	87.0	86.1	87.0
Work experience:					
Less than 1 year	55.6	60.2	52.8	52.8	55.6
One year or more ...	44.4	39.8	47.2	47.2	44.4

ed that their parents were natives of the same area. In a slight majority of cases, however, the participants' parents had migrated to Baltimore from other regions, most often from the South Atlantic States.

More than one-half (56 percent) reported less than 1 year of employment experience, and about three-quarters indicated that they had been employed for less than 3 years. Although their age distribution accounts in some measure for their relative inexperience in the labor market, there is no doubt that their educational deficiencies and their incarcerations together played an important role in abbreviating their employment histories. Among those who reported previous employment experience, by far the greatest number had held unskilled blue-collar jobs.

Since all participants were multiple offenders, it should not be altogether surprising that 83 percent had been arrested three or more times as adults or that 57 percent had been arrested one or more times as juveniles. With respect to convictions, nearly half (47 percent) had been tried and found guilty three or more times as adults, and more than half (54 percent) had experienced similar court outcomes at least once as juveniles. One-third had served three or more prison terms as adults, and almost half (48 percent) had been incarcerated at least once before reaching adulthood.

A more detailed exploration of their experiences with the law enforcement system reveals a pattern of repeated encounters with the police and prison authorities, as shown in chart 2.

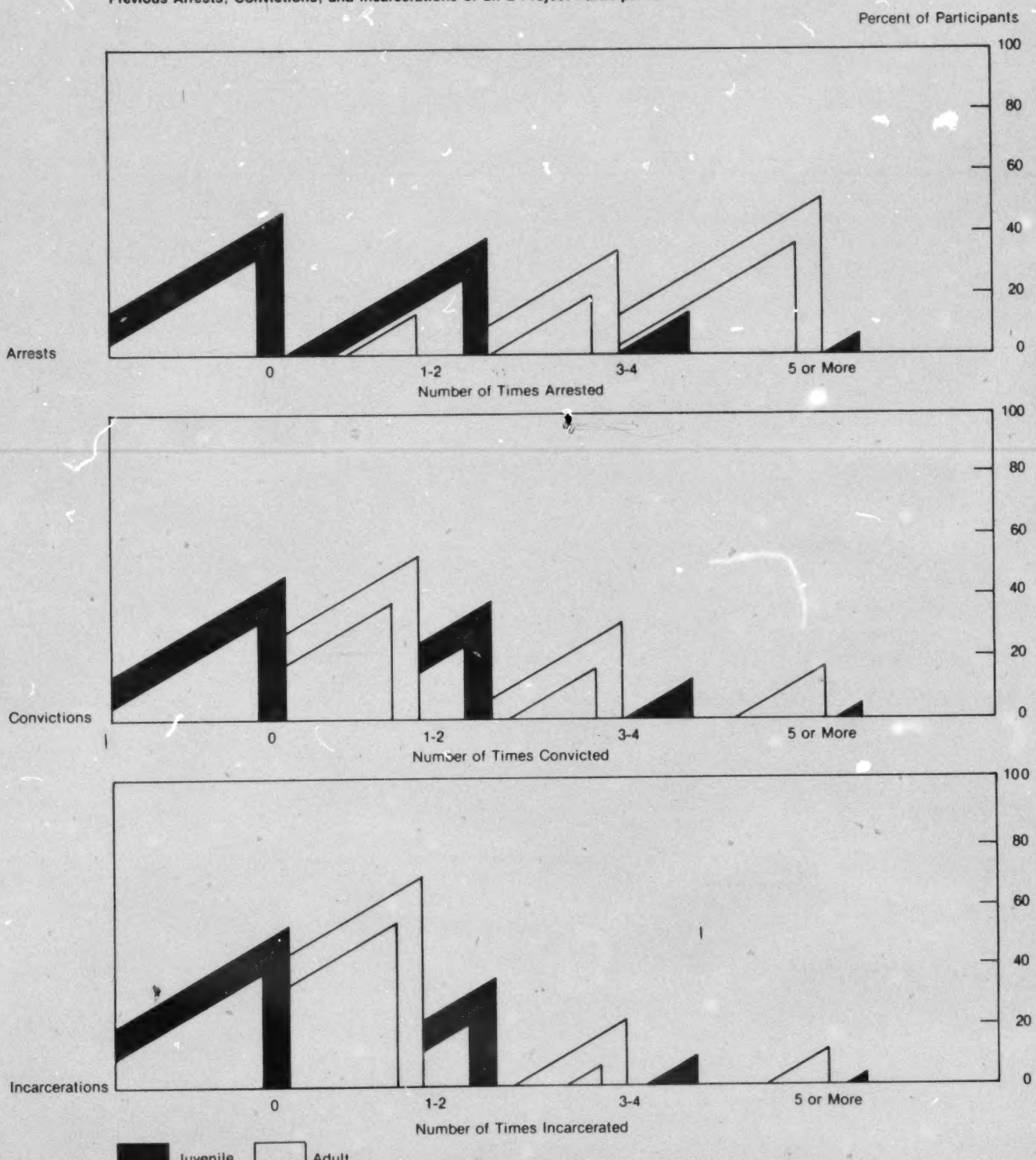
When asked to estimate the total amount of time they had spent in reformatories, jails, and prisons, about three-fifths reported totals between 1 and 5 years. Among the remainder, 15 percent reported a total of 5 to 7 years; 11 percent, 7 to 10 years; 9 percent, 10 to 16 years; and 3 percent more than 16 years. Given the age distribution of the group as a whole, it is clear that a substantial minority had spent more of their adolescent and adult years behind bars than in freedom.

The most recent arrest charge for 3 out of 5 participants involved robbery, burglary, or larceny. Sixteen percent had been arrested most recently on charges of homicide or assault, and 7 percent had been involved in auto theft. Arrests for the remainder reflected an assortment of other charges, including disorderly conduct, use or selling of narcotics, sex crimes, and escape or parole violation. At the time they were selected as participants in the study, 77 percent were scheduled for release on regular parole, with the remainder due either for mandatory parole[11] or for discharge following completion of their full prison terms.

[11]Persons on mandatory parole are subject to parole as a result of the reduction in sentence due to "good time" and industrial work in prison.

Chart 2.

Previous Arrests, Convictions, and Incarcerations of LIFE Project Participants



Recidivism: Its Meaning and Measurement

In this study, the term "recidivism" refers simply to arrest on charges of committing illegal acts after release from prison—no more than that.

By restricting use of the term "recidivism" to arrests on charges of criminal actions after release from prison, the project focused on activity that can be measured—or at least approximated. Recidivism, however, is measured in different ways, depending on the agency that is doing the measuring. The police usually count arrests; the courts, conviction; and the prisons, "returns." Technically, arrests, convictions, and returns measure the activity of official agencies—not that of offenders themselves.

Since the concer here is less with agency recordkeeping that with approximating a measure of criminal activity, arrests (which are really "rearrests" for the men in the study) have been chosen as the indicator of illegal activity in full knowledge of the fact that, on the one hand, some persons are accused falsely and, on the other, that the arrest rate does not reflect all crimes that are committed.[12]

Rough estimates of the real incidence of crimes of theft—the main focus of this study—indicate that there are probably eight such crimes for every arrest. Since over 100 men in the Baltimore sample were arrested on these charges, they were probably responsible for over 800 such crimes.[13] Another way of saying this is that there is a probability ratio of about 8 to 1 between a theft crime and an arrest.

Whatever the exact ratio is, it can be assumed that the potential ratios were the same for the four groups in the study when they left prison (a benefit of random assignment). Thus, if the groups had different arrest rates after 1 year, these differences can be tied to the different services the men received.

[12]The arrest information in this study is based on a careful search of the records of all the district courts of Maryland and the courts in Washington, D.C., and Wilmington, Del. Every man arrested in Maryland is registered in the court record, which makes this source comprehensive and complete—far better than police or FBI rap sheets. The search in Maryland covered the 24 jurisdictions: the city of Baltimore and 23 counties. The researchers found that 93 percent of the arrests occurred in the city of Baltimore and another 5 percent in Baltimore County, indicating that the men in the study are parochial criminals. Most of them commit crimes in their own city, usually not far from home.

[13]This estimate is based on victimization studies showing that only about half of all theft crimes are reported to the police and on FBI reports showing that only about one-fourth of the theft crimes known to the police are cleared—that is, that the suspect is arrested or at least identified.

The Setting: Baltimore

To maximize the study's usefulness, the project site had to be fairly representative of the general urban scene. In this respect, Baltimore seemed a good choice, since it possesses some of the characteristics of both northern and southern urban centers.[14] It is also the fourth port in the country (with a major shipbuilding capacity) and provides the East Coast's cheapest and fastest rail service to the West. These shipping facilities have attracted a diversified range of industries; in fact, most of Baltimore's blue-collar workers are engaged in manufacturing. More recently, it has become a center for government agencies (principally as national headquarters for the Social Security Administration) and, among large cities, lags behind only Washington, D.C., in the proportion of its work force engaged in government jobs.

Demographically, Baltimore has followed the same pattern of growth as many other older industrial cities in the Eastern and North Central States; population growth in the central city has stopped, while the population of the suburban counties has grown steadily since the end of World War II. By 1970, over 2 million people lived in the Baltimore standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA),[15] a 35-percent increase for the decade of the 1960's, all of it occurring in the suburban ring. During the same period, the population of Baltimore City declined by 4 percent (from 939,000 in 1960 to 906,000 in 1970), causing Baltimore to slip from sixth to seventh in its ranking among the Nation's largest cities.

In a pattern repeated elsewhere, there has been an exodus of whites to the suburban counties and an influx of blacks into Baltimore City, primarily from Maryland's rural areas, but also from some Southern States. Consequently, the racial composition of the city has changed dramatically in the last few decades. In absolute numbers, the white population of Baltimore dropped by 244,000 between 1950 and 1970, while the black population

[14]While it was never truly a southern city (Maryland fought on the Union side in the Civil War), there is a suggestion of southern ambience in Baltimore, a tendency to preserve certain regional traditions. (Baltimore maintained formally segregated facilities, both public and private, into the late 1950's and early 1960's.)

[15]Included in the Baltimore SMSA are the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford, and Howard, as well as Baltimore City. Although the population of Maryland's largest city declined slightly, the population of the State as a whole grew from 3.1 million in 1960 to 3.9 million in 1970, an increase of more than 25 percent.

increased by 196,000. (In 1950, whites made up 76 percent of the population; in 1960, 65 percent; and in 1970, 53 percent).

The city of Baltimore is classified by the Bureau of the Census as a low-income area. In 1970, the median income of Baltimore families was $8,815, which was $500 to $1,700 lower than that of families living in the five largest cities in the country.[16] Poverty was concentrated in 117 central-city census tracts, where two-thirds of the residents were black and the median family income was $7,127 ($1,688 lower than the median family income for Baltimore).

It was to the part of the city where unemployment was highest (especially among young men) and where family income and levels of education were lowest that 75 percent of the men in the sample returned to live. This central-city area was one of 60 of the Nation's low-income areas studied in a special Bureau of the Census survey in 1970, which revealed that both white and black men in that area had unemployment rates about twice as high as their counterparts elsewhere in the SMSA.[17]

Major transportation problems hinder central-city workers from taking advantage of the expanding job market in Baltimore's suburban ring. There is no convenient public transportation, and relatively few central-city workers have cars or any other means of getting to the suburbs on a regular basis. (Only 5 percent of the men participating in the experiment owned cars, and only 19 percent of them had driver's licenses.) Although the area is poor, it has one characteristic that worked in favor of the men participating in the study—the special nature of housing in Baltimore's central city.

Most of Baltimore's central-city streets are lined with rowhouses built many years ago and so narrow that they have rarely been broken up into separate apartments. Almost a third of all black-occupied housing is owner-occupied, and 63 percent consists of one-unit structures, rather than multiple housing units.

Men released from prison in most big cities usually have to locate furnished rooms. In New York City, for example, most released prisoners cope with the problems of a housing shortage by taking furnished rooms in single-room-occupancy hotels. If these men were given $60 a week, half of it would go for rent immediately. This was not true for most men in this study, 74 percent of whom returned to rowhouses owned by family or friends.

In short, while the participants in the study were returning to an area with limited economic possibilities, most did not have to contend, with the formidable housing problems that men in many other cities face on release from prison.

A High-Risk Population in a Stressful Environment

The Baltimore sample was composed exclusively of high-risk individuals—i.e., former inmates facing a greater-than-average likelihood of rearrest and return to jail. Given their previous history and personal problems, as well as their economic and educational disadvantages, it is not surprising that their everyday behavior deviated from the norm in many respects.

Since these men, more than most, could be expected to resume illegal activity shortly after their release from prison, they were the proper target group for an experiment designed to determine whether a small amount of regular financial assistance over 13 weeks would produce any changes in their propensity to commit certain kinds of crime. However, the data obtained from the court records and the monthly interviews made it clear not only that the availability of financial aid influenced their lifestyles, including their patterns of recidivism, but also that their home and neighborhood environments were remarkably stressful in that they offered repeated challenges to the men's self-esteem and to their physical and economic security.

For example, the interviews included one open-ended question—a followup to a query concerning the frequency of the men's contact with the police or others involved in law enforcement during the preceding week or month—which was designed to determine the reasons for any encounters with the authorities. While the question fulfilled this function, it also disclosed that the

[16] New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Detroit. Further, Baltimore has a higher proportion of families with income below the nationally defined poverty level and a lower proportion of families with incomes above $15,000.

[17] These figures do not reflect the extent of underemployment and job instability in the central-city area where the returning prisoners lived. For example, men looking for full-time employment who had accepted part-time jobs were classified as "employed." Twelve percent of the male family heads who had held jobs during the year prior to the survey had also been unemployed during part of the year (three-fourths of them for 5 weeks or more, one-third of them for 15 weeks or more). In sum, nearly 20 percent of the male family heads between 16 and 64 years old had full-time work less than 40 weeks during the year prior to the survey.

men were frequently involved with the police on matters unrelated to the commission of crime by the men themselves. A substantial number were victims, rather than perpetrators, of assaults, robberies, and burglaries—and they reported these crimes to the police. They were also more likely than the average citizen to be called upon to testify in court, to provide bail for friends or relatives, or to participate in a lineup. A number also reported having been frisked on the way to or from work, told by a police office to stay away from a certain street corner, or picked up and held by the police on suspicion of charges before being released after a few hours or days. In addition, the police were called upon to quell family quarrels, subdue noisy parties, or help in coping with occasional emergencies requiring medical assistance or an ambulance.

The men also saw their parole officers regularly and sometimes reported positive encounters with the police. Among the latter were a few instances in which a police officer conveyed news of a job vacancy in the neighborhood or simply talked to one of the men about his job outlook or family situation.

Similarly, the responses to open-ended questions concerning quarrels with family members, employers, or friends revealed that the men encountered problems in defining their status in the family unit, on the job, and among their peers.

When family quarrels occurred, they often revolved around money and/or the ex-prisoner's failure to find a job. Conflicts with siblings (especially younger ones) over the ex-inmates's role in advising or disciplining them were not unusual. And among men living with their wives or girl friends, many quarrels involved infidelity (by one or the other party) or the couple's difficulty in determining which of them was the head of the household.

When the ex-prisoners quarreled with employers or coworkers, they were likely to show their sensitivity to undefined "attitudes" of persons at the jobsite—i.e., expressions of smugness or contempt that may or may not have been imagined. In a few instances, an ex-prisoner's employer accused him of theft or drinking on the job, while some conflicts with coworkers involved accusations of shirking or inability to do the work.

In another open-ended question, the men were invited to describe the worst thing that had happened to them in the previous week. Here again, the responses revealed that a significant proportion of the men lived in circumstances marked by tension and uncertainty. Among a week's "worst happenings" could be counted a certain number of incidents involving the arrest or injury through violence of a family member or one of the men themselves. A few were threatened with eviction from their homes; a surprisingly large number reported that their own homes were burglarized. Others indicated that friends had died as a result of an overdose of drugs, and many mentioned the death or serious illness of a close relative. The ex-prisoners themselves were not by any means immune from physical ailments, work injuries, or wounds suffered in accidents or fights.

Another of the most frequently mentioned "worst happenings" was a girl friend's or wife's pregnancy. (But this was also cited as a "best happening" by many men in the experiment—the respondent's financial situation and the quality of the couple's relationship seemed to be the factors determining a prospective father's reaction.)

Many of the employed men worked out-of-doors, and the weather was high on their lists of "best" or "worst" happenings in a given week—not surprisingly, since a few days of bad weather could reduce them to token pay or force a layoff.

The nature of these responses and their relative frequency together make it possible to conclude that few men participating in the experiment were in a position to count upon more than a few hours' or days' relative tranquility at a time—more often than not, they were harried, burdened, and deeply uncertain of their capacity to deal with the many challenges they had to face. Beyond their need to cope with family and employment problems, a substantial number witnessed outbreaks of violent or criminal behavior in their immediate neighborhood (or were the victims of these outbreaks) or experienced expressions of distrust by police or employers. And, although few mentioned enticements by friends to commit crime as "best" or "worst" happenings, reports of such enticements were not infrequent by any means.

Beyond the stress and personal uncertainties experienced by almost all the men in the experiment, there were indications that some might be labeled "catastrophe prone" or "victimization prone." A noticeable minority were self-destructive; in this regard, the behavior of some was more dramatic—i.e., they took drugs, openly courted rearrest—than that of others, who quit long-sought jobs over a trifle, drank excessively, or picked fights with the family members who sheltered them.

Some catastrophe-prone men were also disorganized; for example, they lost overcoats, eyeglasses, important personal papers, and similar items or forgot to pay rent or bills with a more-than-natural frequency. Self-designated in this way as "losers," these men were not likely to profit very much from the financial support provided by the project—and the evidence indicates that they did not, since many of those who were rearrested and later interviewed during their reincarceration reported experiencing a stream of major and minor misfortunes in the weeks or days immediately preceding their rearrest. It seems possible that a few of these men were unconsciously seeking to return to prison, perhaps out of a sense of personal unworthiness or because the clearly structured prison environment may appeal to men with continuing anxiety about their ability to "make it" elsewhere. Unfortunately, the "loser's" outlook and behavior are difficult to identify with any certainty until the inmate is placed in a win-or-lose situation—in other words, until he is freed.

THE EFFECTS OF FINANCIAL AID AND EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

First-Year Results

Arrest Rates

In overall terms, the impact of financial aid on recidivism among the men participating in the Baltimore experiment is visible in the proportion arrested, regardless of the type of crime committed: 49 percent and 50 percent for the two groups receiving financial assistance, 56 percent and 58 percent for the two receiving no financial support. *These differences in overall arrest rates, however, are wholly traceable to the greater frequency with which those without financial aid committed crimes of theft.* For all other charges—murder, assault, rape, etc.—the arrest rates for aid recipients and nonrecipients are identical or differences are slight enough to be due to chance.

Of the men receiving project funds, 22 percent were arrested for theft, in contrast to 30 percent of those not receiving money. For purposes of analysis, robbery was included among crimes of theft since it is an economically motivated act, but an examination of the charges shows that most of the 8-percentage-point difference in arrest rates for the two groups is accounted for by burglary and larceny, rather than robbery. In fact, if the comparison is limited to burglary and larceny, there is an 11-percentage-point difference between the arrest rates of fund recipients and nonrecipients.[1]

[1]It should be noted that the multiple-arrest cases—men who were arrested more than once during the year—depart from the general pattern of differing arrest rates for recipients and nonrecipients of financial aid. The proportion of men with multiple arrests for theft is about the same for the two groups.

Convictions and Returns to Prison

Although arrests were used as the best available indicator of recidivism, the convictions and sentences resulting from these arrests are presented here for the record.

When all types of charge—theft and nontheft—are combined, the men who received financial aid were less likely to be convicted (26 percent vs. 32 percent of the arrested nonrecipients) and less likely to be returned to prison (17 percent vs. 20 percent). When the judicial outcomes for crimes of theft are examined separately, once again, the men who received financial aid were less likely to be convicted (11 percent vs. 16 percent) and less likely to be returned to prison (9 vs. 15 percent).

The presentation of this information is not intended to suggest that financial aid, in addition to reducing arrest rates for theft, also reduced conviction and sentencing rates. The aim here is simply to show that there is no evidence that differences in the seriousness of the crime (as indicated by conviction or sentencing) are involved in the finding that the men who received financial aid had a lower arrest rate.

Timing of Arrests

Although the aim of the financial aid program was to tide the men over until they found suitable employment, the flow of funds halted after they had received a total of $780 (usually after the 13th week), whether or not they were employed. The money therefore could be expected to exert its greatest impact on the men's behavior during the

first few months. But the evidence on this score points to a delayed, rather than immediate, reaction: The median week of arrest for theft was the 27th after prison release for men without financial aid and the 34th for those with aid.

There is also some evidence that the men without financial aid began stealing earlier. By the sixth week after release, six of the men without financial aid had been arrested for theft, in contrast to none of the group receiving project funds. However, this margin of difference almost disappeared by the 13th week, before reasserting itself in the 27th week—by then, 10 percent of the aid recipients, in contrast to 17 percent of the nonrecipients, had been arrested for theft. Thereafter, the difference grew slightly before stabilizing during the remainder of the post-release year. This persistence of the gains made by the sixth month after release indicates that something positive happened to the aid recipients within the first 3 months—when they were still receiving aid—that helped to keep them away from crimes of theft and rearrest for some time thereafter.

Second-Year Followup

Not only did the difference in arrest rates established by the sixth month continue through the first year, but it persisted to the end of the second year with only a slight decrease. After 24 months, there was still a 7.4-percent difference between the two groups in arrest rates for theft.

Chart 3 shows the cumulative proportion of men arrested at the end of the second year.

One slight difference that did not appear during the first year should be noted in the 2-year data: Arrest rates for nontheft crimes were higher for men receiving the weekly stipend than for those without financial aid. Perhaps some men who avoid committing a theft are apt to be arrested for another kind of crime, such as assault or disorderly conduct. But this difference is small (3.7 percent) and should be kept in perspective. It does not detract from the important fact that the difference in rates of commission of crimes of theft persists well beyond the first year.

Furthermore, those receiving financial aid were more "vulnerable" to arrest on nontheft charges after the first year; i.e., they had had more time (at risk) to commit a nontheft crime since, at the beginning of their second year, they had had fewer arrests, less jail time, and less prison time. This fact alone may account for the difference in rates of arrest for nontheft crimes.

Arrest Rates by Selected Personal Characteristics

Age

First-year rates of arrest for theft among the three major age groups were as follows:

Age	*Percent arrested for theft*
20 years or younger	40.9
21 to 25 years	21.1
26 years or older	19.2

Among those less than 21 years of age, the arrest rate for theft was twice that of the older men; and there was a second, but considerably smaller, drop between men aged 21 to 25 and those over 25. This relationship reflects what most postprison studies have found: recidivism declines with age.

Financial aid favored the older participants; in fact, there was little difference (2.3 percentage points) in the arrest rates of financial aid recipients and nonrecipients who were less than 21 years old. In contrast, the two older age groups showed sizable differences: 8.3 percentage points for those 21 to 25 years and 10.7 percentage points for those over 25 years.

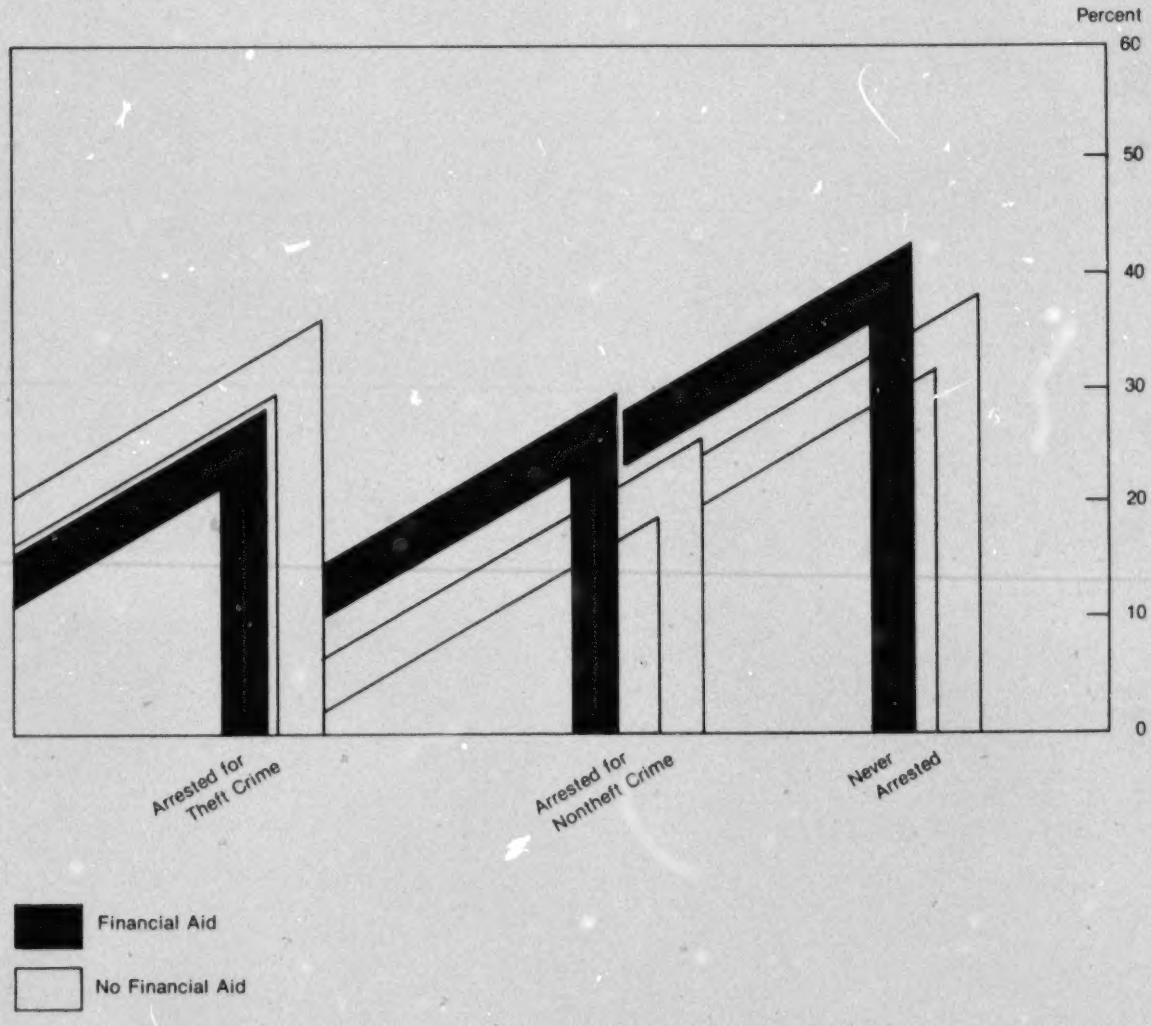
When age is considered together with work experience,[2] the younger men with less than 1 year on the job showed no gain from financial aid—in fact, the arrest rate of fund recipients in this case was 5.6 percentage points higher than that of nonrecipients. But younger men with a year or more of work experience showed a sizable impact: 20.3 percentage points. Unfortunately, this difference is less than reliable, since it is based on relatively few cases—18 men who received financial aid and 21 who did not.

Among the older age groups, in contrast, financial aid favored those who had less than 1 year's work experience: those 21 to 25 years of age show a difference of 22.8 percentage points and those over 25 a difference of 25.9 points. Among the older men with a year or more of work expe-

[2]This variable refers to the length of time a man spent on the job he held longest.

Chart 3.

Percent of Men Arrested by the End of the Second Year After Release, According to Whether They Received Financial Aid



rience, financial aid made little or no difference. The results, therefore, are mixed, with the younger men responding one way and the older men the other.

Race

In terms of first-year theft arrests, there was little difference by race; 26.7 percent of the blacks and 24.1 percent of the whites were rearrested. Moreover, both seemed to have benefited to the same degree from the financial aid.

Apparently, whites and blacks share some of the same problems after release from prison. Unfortunately, the small proportion of whites in the project sample (54 men, or about 13 percent) makes it difficult to explore racial contrasts in greater detail.

Education

Prisons throughout the country provide opportunities for some inmates to increase their educational attainment, for it is generally believed that the more education an inmate has, the greater are his or her chances of avoiding a return to crime. For the men in the Baltimore sample, this assumption proved correct: those with a 9th-grade education or less had an arrest rate of 30.8 percent, while those with a 10th-grade education or more had a rate of 20.5 percent.

Financial aid was most effective in reducing the arrest rates of those with the least education. The difference in arrest rates for aid recipients and nonrecipients with less than 10 years of schooling was 11.8 percentage points, whereas financial aid made a difference of only 2.3 percentage points among those with 10 or more years of education.

Once again, financial aid had relatively little impact on the youngest men: in fact, only the more poorly educated of this age group showed a difference (4.7 percentage points); among those with more education there was no effect—indeed, there was a slight reversal of 2.3 percentage points. Among those 21 to 25 years of age, the effect was the same for both education groups. Among the oldest men, financial aid had no effect on men with the better education—in fact there was another reversal of 5 percentage points. But the most startling result occurred among the oldest men with the least education; those without financial aid had an arrest rate of 28.6 percent, while the rate for those receiving money dropped to 7.1 percent—a difference of 21.5 percentage points.

Marital Status

At the outset of the experiment, it was expected that married men were less likely to be arrested than single men, which is why marital status was used, with age and work experience, as one of the stratifying variables before participants were randomly assigned to the treatment groups. The assumption about married men proved correct: they did have a lower arrest rate. But marital status as a stratifying variable was a poor choice, since only 12 percent of the men were married and marriage was strongly correlated with age. In fact, only three men under the age of 21 were married. These small numbers and the high correlation of marriage with age severely limit the value of this finding.

Parole Status

Roughly three-fourths of the men in the study were released on regular parole, and the remaining fourth were discharged or given mandatory parole—that is, they served their full sentence, apart from time off for good behavior. Presumably, regular parolees would have a lower arrest rate, since the parole boards considered them the better risks.[3] In fact, the participants' arrest rates tended to substantiate the tacit prediction of the parole boards: 24.4 percent of the parolees were arrested for theft, in contrast to 33 percent of the discharges.

It is impossible to disentangle all the differences between parolees and dischargees, but one characteristic—work experience—lends itself to more detailed examination. Parolees as a group have more work experience, since it is one of the factors that parole boards consider. But for the Baltimore experimental group, the difference was not very great: 57.5 percent of the parolees had 1 or more years of work experience, in contrast to 49.5 percent of the dischargees.

When work experience is considered in conjunction with parole status, financial aid had its greatest impact among the dischargees with the least work experience. The results are striking: among *parolees*, the difference in arrest rates of fund recipients and nonrecipients was only 1.5 percentage points for men with 1 or more years' work experience and 4.8 points for those with less than a year's experience (with the recipients arrested less often in both cases). For *dischargees*, on the other hand, the difference between recipients and nonrecipients was 9.8 percentage points among men with a year or more of experience, in contrast to 40.4 points among those with less experience (with fund recipients again showing the lower rates in both instances).

[3]Some of the factors considered in granting parole are an inmate's work experience and education, whether he or she has a job to go to, and whether he or she is returning to live in a stable family situation. Parole boards also consider an inmate's performance in prison, especially in terms of compliance with regulations, participation in programs, and willingness to (at least) go through the motions of being rehabilitated. In contrast, some dischargees have been considered rebellious and others passive, in that they did not engage in prison programs or show support for the system.

Financial Aid and Postrelease Behavior

In the low-income neighborhoods where most of the project participants resided, individual survival often depends on an informal system of mutual aid marked by the frequent exchange of small gifts and loans among family members or friends. This continuous flow of cash, usually involving sums under $50, is supplemented by the occasional pawning or sale of personal property, by the purchase and sale of stolen goods at prices far below their retail value, and by more regular income derived from employment, social security, or welfare.

For those who depend on these mixed sources of financial support, the margin of economic security can be extremely narrow; indeed, the addition of only one person to the low-income household (for example, when a family member returns from prison) can signal a substantial increase in the financial pressure experienced directly by the entire family and indirectly by second-degree relatives and close friends.

It came as no surprise, therefore, that the financial aid provided by the project induced measurable changes in the behavior of the recipients, not only in their inclination to commit crimes of theft, but also in their patterns of interaction with family members and acquaintances.

Paying Rent

For example, the recipients of financial aid were considerably more apt to pay rent or make some regular contribution to household expenses than were the nonrecipients (see table 2). Although the great majority of these payments involved sums of less than $100 a month, many of the households involved were poor enough to benefit considerably from an additional $15 to $25 a week.

In overall terms, over 40 percent of those not receiving financial aid reported that they did not pay any rent when they were interviewed 4 weeks after release, in contrast to about 20 percent of the aid recipients. Two months later, nearly one-third of those not receiving financial aid still were not paying anything for their housing, while the proportion of aid recipients who were housed rent free had dropped slightly to 18 percent.

Seeking Loans from Family or Friends

Recipients of financial aid also found it considerably easier than did the nonrecipients to avoid becoming dependent on gifts or loans from family members or friends (see table 3). In the fourth week after leaving prison, nearly 40 percent of those not receiving project funds reported receiving such gifts or loans, in contrast to 19 percent of financial aid recipients. Two months later, the difference between the two groups had narrowed to about 14 percentage points, but about two-thirds of this change was accounted for by an increase in the proportion of nonrecipients who had *not* received gifts or loans—perhaps because they were more likely to have exhausted the good will of potential donors in the preceding 3 months. Aside from their greater general propensity to borrow from friends and relatives, those without financial aid were also three or four times more

TABLE 2. CURRENT MONTHLY RENT

Rent paid	Fourth week after release				Eighth week after release				Thirteenth week after release			
	Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	201	100.0	167	100.0	193	100.0	157	100.0	142	100.0	148	100.0
None	41	20.4	69	41.3	35	18.1	56	35.7	25	17.6	46	31.1
Less than $100	142	70.6	82	49.1	133	68.9	84	53.5	94	66.2	86	58.1
More than $100	18	9.0	16	9.6	25	13.0	17	10.8	23	16.2	16	10.8

TABLE 3. MONEY RECEIVED AS GIFTS OR LOANS FROM FRIENDS OR RELATIVES

Amount received	Fourth week after release				Eighth week after release				Thirteenth week after release			
	Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	205	100.00	171	100.00	199	100.00	154	100.00	150	100.00	146	100.00
None	166	81.0	103	60.2	170	85.4	95	61.7	127	84.7	103	70.5
Less than $50	24	11.7	32	18.7	21	10.6	34	22.1	18	12.0	28	19.2
More than $50	15	7.3	36	21.1	8	4.0	25	16.2	5	3.3	15	10.3

likely than aid recipients to report gifts or loans involving sums exceeding $50.

There is some evidence, then, that the project funds not only eased the immediate financial pressures faced by those who received aid but also helped them and their families to avoid the tensions that can be expected to arise when one member of a household becomes a financial drain on all the others.

Receipt of financial support from the project was not the only factor exerting an influence upon the participants' degree of dependence on friends or relatives, however. Those with less than a year of previous work experience were more likely to report that they had received such support than were those with more than a year's prior employment experience, as shown in chart 4.

In both work-experience groups, the tendency to rely on friends and family for supplementary income increased with the passage of time, but those with more labor market experience were more consistently self-reliant.

On the basis of the available data, black participants appeared somewhat more likely to report gifts and loans from family and friends in the first months following release from prison, while whites were more likely to report such additional income in later months. Even this tentatively established pattern must be interpreted cautiously, however, since the number of whites in the target population was too small to permit much meaningful comparison by race.

Whatever their marital status, the project participants showed more financial dependence on family and friends 12 months after release than they had 10 or 11 months earlier. Nonetheless, among the three marital status groups, the single men appeared to be the most dependent and the married ones the most independent. Here again, however, analysis is handicapped by the small size of the married and separated/divorced groups and by the possibility that the marital status distinctions simply reflect age differences.

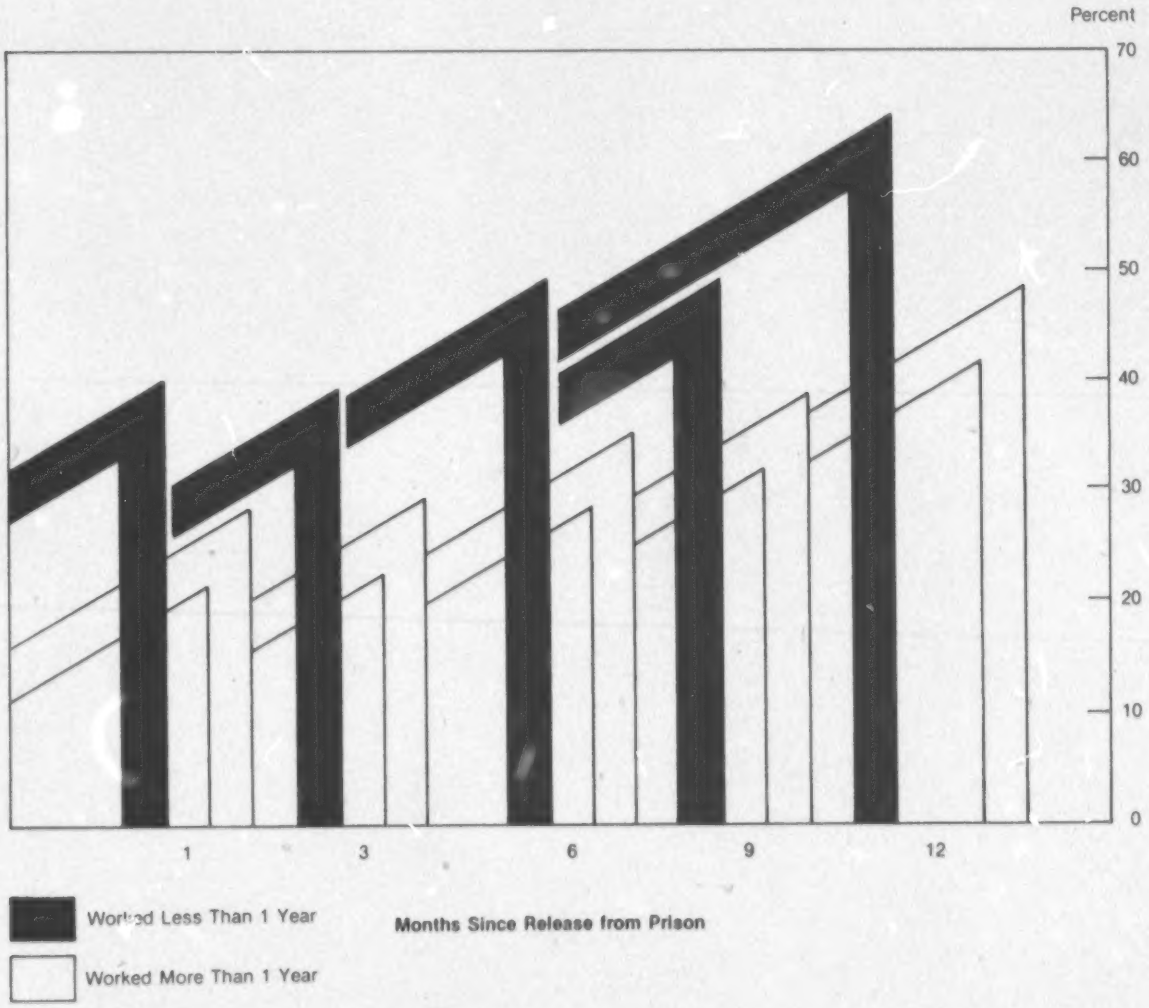
A more detailed exploration of the relationship between age and degree of financial dependence on family and friends indicates, in fact, that age did play an important role in establishing patterns of greater or lesser self-reliance vis-a-vis the family, whether or not additional financial support was available from the project (see table 4). Although

TABLE 4. PERCENT REPORTING GIFTS OR LOANS FROM FAMILY OR FRIENDS, BY RECEIPT OF FINANCIAL AID, AGE, AND MONTHS SINCE RELEASE FROM PRISON

Months since release from prison	Financial aid			No financial aid		
	Aged 17 to 20 years	Aged 21 to 25 years	Aged 26 years and over	Aged 17 to 20 years	Aged 21 to 25 years	Aged 26 years and over
1	20	18	15	40	40	39
3	24	9	17	46	32	21
7	28	12	10	41	24	17
10	15	18	10	48	30	21
12	21	15	14	26	14	22

Chart 4.

Percent of Participants Receiving Money From Friends or Relatives by Duration of Previous Work Experience and Time Since Release From Prison



those receiving project funds were considerably less likely than nonrecipients to seek support from family or friends, dependence declined with age in both groups.

Applying for Welfare

Another illustration of the project's impact on the overall financial situation of aid recipients is

TABLE 5. WELFARE STATUS IN CURRENT MONTH

Welfare status	Fourth week after release				Eighth week after release				Thirteenth week after release			
	Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	205	100.0	171	100.0	200	100.0	160	100.0	150	100.0	153	100.0
Received money from welfare	7	3.4	29	17.0	5	2.5	14	8.8	3	2.0	8	5.2
Did not receive money from welfare	198	96.6	142	83.0	195	97.5	146	91.3	147	98.0	145	94.8

NOTE. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

provided by the contrast between their welfare status and that of the nonrecipients. Within a month of their release from prison, 17 percent of the nonrecipients had applied for and received welfare, while only 3.4 percent of the aid recipients had found it necessary to seek public support. Although the proportion of welfare clients declined steadily in both groups through the 13th week, those not receiving financial aid remained more than twice as likely to be on welfare as were the aid recipients (see table 5).

Making Large Purchases

Through the 13 weeks following release from prison, the participants receiving financial aid were also more likely to report having made large purchases (i.e., costing $60 or more) during the preceding month (see table 6). The share of those not receiving financial assistance who reported no large purchases always exceeded 50 percent. On the other hand, about two-thirds of the recipients made such purchases through the eighth week after release. Toward the 13th week, as project support dried up for most of those who had been receiving aid, the proportion reporting large purchases dropped to about 53 percent, although still maintaining a comfortable margin over the nonrecipients.

Decisions regarding large purchases were also influenced by employment status (see table 7). Among those who did not receive project funds, the unemployed were considerably less likely than those who held jobs to report having made large purchases. As might be expected, the difference was less clear cut among those receiving financial assistance, especially during the 13 weeks following their release, when the proportion of unemployed reporting large purchases approached, or even exceeded, the proportion of the employed reporting such expenditures. A few months later, however, the patterns for aid recipients and nonrecipients began to resemble each other more closely, with the unemployed men in each group

TABLE 6. HAS SUBJECT MADE ANY LARGE PURCHASES IN PAST MONTH?

Item	Fourth week after release				Eighth week after release				Thirteenth week after release			
	Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid		Financial aid		No financial aid	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	205	100.0	171	100.0	200	100.0	160	100.0	150	100.0	153	100.0
Yes	135	65.9	83	48.5	134	67.0	78	48.8	79	52.7	73	47.7
No	70	34.1	88	51.5	66	33.0	82	51.3	71	47.3	80	52.3

NOTE. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 7. PERCENT REPORTING CLOTHING AND OTHER LARGE PURCHASES, BY RECEIPT OF FINANCIAL AID, EMPLOYMENT STATUS, AND MONTHS SINCE RELEASE FROM PRISON

Months since release from prison	Financial aid				No financial aid			
	Employed		Unemployed		Employed		Unemployed	
	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other
1	57	11	51	8	47	7	38	2
3	38	11	54	5	44	9	22	3
7	42	13	26	3	47	8	23	7
10	42	11	22	0	47	8	41	0
12	30	10	15	15	46	10	20	4

showing a decline in large purchases.

In terms of age, the recipients and nonrecipients resembled each other rather closely in their disposition to make large purchases (see table 8). Immediately following release from prison, the younger men in both groups showed a greater inclination to make such investments, while the older men showed a larger measure of caution. Several months later, however, the 17- to 20-year-olds were among the least likely to report large purchases, while their seniors showed greater willingness to part with significant sums (in some cases, probably, because their savings permitted it and/or because a long-considered purchase could no longer be postponed).

Buying Clothes

Among recipients and nonrecipients of financial aid alike, many seemed to share the assumption that "clothes make the man." When asked to describe the large purchases they had made in the preceding week, large proportions of both groups put clothing in first or second place, often well ahead of other items, as shown below. Moreover, this pattern held true throughout the year following release from prison, in spite of the overall decline in levels of expenditure as immediate post-release needs were met and as financial assistance from the project tapered off.

Percent mentioning as first purchase item

Months since release from prison	*Financial aid*		*No financial aid*	
	Clothing	*Other*	*Clothing*	*Other*
1	55	10	43	5
3	42	10	39	9
7	36	9	41	8
10	36	9	45	7
12	27	11	39	9

It should be noted that this preoccupation with clothing can be partly explained by the men's special situation as recently released prison inmates. A number of the men had gained or lost weight while in prison, while those who served

TABLE 8. PERCENT REPORTING CLOTHING AND OTHER LARGE PURCHASES, BY RECEIPT OF FINANCIAL AID, AGE, AND MONTHS SINCE RELEASE FROM PRISON

Months since release from prison	Financial aid						No financial aid					
	Aged 17 to 20 years		Aged 21 to 25 years		Aged 26 years and over		Aged 17 to 20 years		Aged 21 to 25 years		Aged 26 years and over	
	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other	Clothing	Other
1	61	13	51	8	54	9	50	4	44	3	35	8
3	49	9	43	12	37	9	37	5	42	11	36	9
7	41	10	33	10	35	8	42	6	40	10	42	6
10	41	4	36	10	33	10	41	4	46	14	47	3
12	16	16	29	10	30	9	44	0	36	11	41	11

longer sentences found that their preprison wardrobes had deteriorated or gone out of style. Many who found employment had to buy work clothes, while those who paid little or no rent were able to devote a correspondingly greater proportion of their incomes to clothing purchases. These factors, however, do not fully account for the men's different patterns of purchasing behavior by age or employment status.

During most of the year following release from prison, the most pronounced interest in clothing purchases was shown by the youngest men, while those aged 26 years and over were somewhat more cautious about investing their resources in nondurables (see table 8). Ten or twelve months after release from prison, however, the older men receiving no financial aid increased their clothing purchases, while the other age and assistance groups showed declines (perhaps because the older men were more likely to be employed and able to afford clothing and those without earlier project support were more apt to need it). Financial assistance appears to have accentuated the general pattern of early clothing purchases by the younger men, rising higher among the recipients in the first months after release than they did among the nonrecipients and dropping off more sharply in the months following the termination of support.

Just as those not receiving financial aid were generally less likely to report purchases of clothing, reports of such purchases were also less likely to occur among the unemployed members of both the financial aid and no aid groups (see table 7). Still, even among those who were *both* unemployed and without financial assistance from the project, clothing was mentioned far more often than any other kind of purchase.

Participants' Views of the Impact of Financial Aid

When each participant received his final weekly payment, exhausting his $780 allotment, he was asked to assess the subsidy's impact on his life and outlook, especially in the areas of personal well-being, job search, housing, social relations, and use of leisure time.

The men's responses tended to stress the great difficulties they had encountered in securing help from any other source and the consequently greater relative importance of the funds received from the project. A number of the men reported that the weekly stipend not only provided a badly needed financial cushion in the months following release from prison but also reduced their feelings of bitterness and encouraged a more positive outlook by increasing their self-reliance. According to one participant, the financial experiment "made me feel good, knowing I could contribute to the support of my son." Another noted that the project "made me feel that somebody cared about helping me," while a third observed that "the financial strain would have been very tough," in the absence of project support.

In most cases, the availability of financial support did not encourage the men to postpone their search for a job, although a few reported that they had delayed in looking for work for 2 or 3 weeks after leaving prison to "get used to being outside" or to "relax for awhile." In a large proportion of cases, the men began seeking employment immediately after release but were able to sustain the search long enough to secure better jobs or higher pay than they would have been able to obtain in other circumstances.

For those men who were not able to secure housing with parents or spouses, the weekly stipend had an immediate and important effect on their ability to pay rent. Even among those whose housing situation was more stable, however, many reported that their family relations had been improved significantly by their ability to contribute to the household expenses or by the fact that they did not have to rely on family members to cover such incidental expenses as carfare, lunch, or clothing. To these men, it was important to "feel I was my own man," to "be able to help out at home," or to cope with the fact that "everybody expected so much of me."

When asked how the money had affected their use of time, relatively few of the men were able to trace major changes in their leisure activities to the availability of financial assistance. This reflected the patterns established in earlier interviews, when those receiving financial aid were only slightly more likely to report attending movies, sports events, or other forms of entertainment requiring payment of an admission fee. To a considerable degree, the impact of financial aid on their use of leisure time appears to have been masked by the near-universal reliance on televi-

sion for recreation, although the men receiving financial assistance were substantially more likely to purchase TV sets, stereos, tape players and other sources of home entertainment.

The men's evaluation of the impact of financial aid on their lives offers an interesting opportunity to compare their subjective assessments with the more objective evidence supplied by their own behavior. Few of the men indicated (or even hinted) that the financial aid fulfilled needs that might otherwise have been satisfied by stealing; but, in fact, there were fewer rearrests than might have been expected among those who received the weekly stipend than among those who did not. Rather than analyzing what they might have *done* in the absence of project funds, the men tended to emphasize how the money made them *feel*, the psychological boost they obtained from experiencing a degree of financial independence and security. This pattern extended to other areas of behavior; for example, they were quick to note such obvious instances of behavioral impact as changes in their job search pattern, but were more inclined to report the existence of improved family relations than to trace the improvement to specific changes in their financial habits. Though the financial aid involved relatively small sums, many of the men reported substantial increases in their feeling of personal autonomy and competence as a result of having some money in their pockets.

The fact that this change in outlook occurred in association with a reduction in their rearrest rate underlines the importance of the psychological roots of certain kinds of criminal behavior, especially those property crimes that appear to spring from immaturity and a sense of personal insufficiency as well as from situations of acute financial need.

Job Placement and Employment

The Job Placement Service

A major component of the Baltimore experiment was the special job placement service offered to half of the men participating in the study. The results of this effort to determine whether the availability of such a service would reduce recidivism must be labeled inconclusive for two reasons. First, the job service failed to raise the employment rate of those to whom it was offered above that of the men to whom it was not. Second, the men who were offered the placement service did not have lower arrest rates than those who were not. (In fact, the men receiving the job service actually had a slightly higher rate of arrest within the first year after release—54 percent in contrast to 52 percent of those not receiving job placement assistance.) The results of the experiment, therefore, did not make it possible to determine whether employment assistance can reduce recidivism.

The labor force reentry problems of recently released offenders are illustrated by the placement service's inability to raise the employment rate among recipients of the service, in spite of intensive efforts by those involved. Two persons from the Maryland State employment service worked full time on finding job openings, chauffeuring men to job interviews, helping them to fill out applications, and speaking to employers in their behalf. They also helped the men obtain social security cards and driver's licenses and, in some instances, advanced them money to buy tools or work clothes.

At one point, the help of the project staff was enlisted to supplement the efforts of the two full-time employment officers. Each of 15 staff members was assigned 2 unemployed men and instructed to focus their activities on finding them jobs—to contact each man every morning, locate suitable job openings, and do everything else necessary to get them jobs. After 3 weeks, only 4 of the 30 men were employed, and only 1 of the 4 was still employed 1 month later.

By the 13th week after release, 46 percent of the men offered the placement service were employed full time, compared with 41 percent of those not offered the service (see table 9). But this difference soon began to narrow and then disappeared, so that by the 26th week, 46 percent of those who did *not* receive the service were employed, in contrast to 44 percent of the service recipients. By the end of the year, the employment rate was the same (43 percent) for both groups. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the job placement service appeared to have no important, lasting effect on employment.

TABLE 9. PARTICIPANTS' LABOR FORCE AND OTHER STATUS AT 13-WEEK INTERVALS FOLLOWING RELEASE, BY AVAILABILITY OF JOB SERVICE.

[Percent]

Time since release and availability of job service	Employed		Unemployed	In school, training, or hospital or dead	In jail or prison	No information
	Full time	Part time				
13 weeks:						
Job service	45.8	3.7	31.9	3.7	7.9	6.9
No job service	41.2	3.2	33.3	4.2	9.3	8.8
26 weeks:						
Job service	44.4	0	26.9	3.2	15.3	10.2
No job service	46.3	2.3	20.4	3.2	12.5	15.3
39 weeks:						
Job service	41.7	1.9	22.2	3.2	18.5	12.5
No job service	44.9	1.9	17.1	3.7	14.8	17.6
52 weeks:						
Job service	42.6	1.9	15.7	3.2	19.9	16.7
No job service	42.6	2.8	12.0	4.2	19.4	19.0

Employment Experience

A closer look at the participants' labor market experience reveals that nearly three-quarters of those who found jobs were hired as unskilled blue-collar workers (see table 10). Here again, there are no indications that the men offered the placement service got "better" jobs than those obliged to look for work on their own.

Not surprisingly, given their occupations, most received relatively low wages, although there was a measurable increase in median and average weekly wages in the course of the year following release:

	13 weeks after release		*52 weeks after release*	
Weekly wage	*Job service*	*No Job service*	*Job service*	*No job service*
Median	$100	$102	$123	$124
Mean	$107	$111	$123	$133

Whether the men found work through the placement service or on their own, most did not stay on the same job very long. This point needs to be emphasized, since the employment and wage data may suggest a more stable situation than actually existed. The general pattern was one of continuous movement among jobs and in and out of the labor force.

This pattern was by no means new to the participants. Their employment experience before their most recent imprisonment was much the same, as shown below:

Longest time on one job	*Percent*
Never worked	4
3 months or less	12
4 to 6 months	13
7 to 11 months	13
1 year or more	57

When asked why they had left their longest held job, a third of the men said they had lost the position because of an arrest, and a few mentioned other legal problems, such as failure to make support payments. About 20 percent said they were fired or laid off, and about the same proportion said they had quit their jobs to take better ones or to go to school. A substantial 16 percent said they not been able to get along with their supervisor or coworkers, and a few had left for health reasons or because they found the job too physically demanding. The remainder offered other miscellaneous reasons or had never worked.

Special note should be taken of the fact that arrests (and other legal problems) accounted for a

TABLE 10.

OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE EMPLOYED AT THE 13TH AND 52D WEEKS FOLLOWING RELEASE, BY AVAILABILITY OF JOB SERVICE

(Percent)

Occupational group	13th week		End of year	
	Job service	No job service	Job service	No job service
All groups	100	100	100	100
White-collar workers (technical, typist, social worker)	6	5	6	5
Skilled workers (painters, welders, plumbers, etc.)	22	22	24	21
Service workers (cook, food handling, gas station, store clerks)	13	11	9	7
Operatives (assembly line, machine work)	5	8	10	10
Semiskilled workers (truck drivers, material handlers) ..	23	20	18	20
Heavy labor (dock workers, sanitation)	3	4	6	7
Unskilled workers (janitor, porter, construction laborer)	22	23	26	27
Other (including school and training)	6	7	1	3

NOTE: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

third of the job terminations, which is not the usual reason for unemployment in the population-at-large. Although it is often assumed that unemployment precedes—and helps to account for—crime, about 1 in 3 of the previously employed participants in the Baltimore experiment lost their jobs because they had been arrested, not the other way around.

Postrelease Employment and Arrests

It is also important to note that the men who were most consistently employed were the least likely to be arrested—a correlation which suggests that efforts to provide effective job placement assistance merit further exploration. More specifically—

—Men who worked 10 or more of the first 13 weeks following release had an arrest rate for theft of 19 percent during the year.

—Those who worked 1 to 9 weeks had an arrest rate of 25 percent.

—Those who did not work at all had an arrest rate of 32 percent.[4]

Most studies of released prisoners show a similar relationship between employment and recidivism, but the reasons underlying this relationship remain hard to identify with any certainty. Do the income and social stability provided by the job remove the incentive to commit crimes of theft? Or are both employment and recidivism related to a third factor—some personal characteristic like "maturity"—which accounts for both? While there are no direct measures of such a trait, one can assume with good reason that, if it exists, it is associated with both age and work experience prior to imprisonment.

Cost-Benefit Analysis of the LIFE Project

The results of a Department of Labor-sponsored cost-benefit analysis of the LIFE project provide another analytical perspective on the experiment's impact on both participants and the community.[5] According to this evaluation, LIFE's financial aid component[6] was a worthwhile under-

[4] These rates apply to thefts only; employment showed no relationship to arrest on other charges.

[5] Charles D. Mallar, "A Comparative Evaluation of the Benefits and Costs from the Baltimore LIFE Program," prepared for the American Bar Association's Transitional Aid Research Project for Ex-Offenders, under Grant No. 21-11-75-19 from the U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1976. (Mimeographed.)

[6] Since LIFE's job assistance component was unquestionably ineffective, it is not included in the cost-benefit evaluation.

taking in terms of both its benefits to society and its economic efficiency, as shown below:

Summary of cost-benefit finding for the LIFE project financial aid program

Perspective	*Lowest estimate*	*Highest estimate*	*Preferred estimate*
Society	4.114	49.084	6.813
Taxpayer (budgetary)	.442	2.737	.685
Taxpayer (nonparticipants)	.848	3.182	1.103
Participants	.794	13.966	3.084

Even under the most negative assumptions, the financial aid portion of the LIFE project appears to have been quite successful, especially in light of such benefits as reductions in welfare and other social assistance costs, as well as in resource costs associated with crime.

(Savings from reduced crime include a decrease in costs of judicial operations, a decline in theft-related losses, and a reduction in the amount of resources—public and private—devoted to theft prevention.)

Because of the recipients' direct increases in income and their reduced recidivism, their dependents were less likely to be dependent on welfare or other general assistance programs. (About 40 percent of prison inmates have dependents receiving welfare assistance, according to the 1974 survey of State correctional facilities.)

Beyond the observable and measurable benefits, a number of less quantifiable gains were assumed to result from reduced recividism but omitted from the evaluation. Among these gains were the increased social cohesion and lessened psychic damage that presumably flow from a reduction in criminal activity. Other benefits not included in the analysis because they belong to a second order of magnitude were the potential intergenerational effects of financial aid and the future increases in earnings derived from human capital investments made while the financial assistance was available.

The study also noted two basic limitations on the value of any cost-benefit evaluation focused solely on the LIFE experiment; one was the unusual degree of selectivity exercised in choosing the high-risk target population, and the other was the relatively short duration of the postrelease observation period. Since most ex-offenders who recidivate do so within 5 years after release, a 5-year observation or followup period would seem to be justifiable, according to the study. Cost-benefit evaluation of the Georgia and Texas TARP project outcomes, when they are available, may be of considerable help in overcoming the problem posed by the LIFE experiment's shorter term observation period, as well as its sample selectivity.

CASE HISTORIES: THREE COMPOSITE PORTRAITS

The following case histories of three composite participants in the Baltimore project—call them Fred Green, aged 18, Joe Wright, aged 23, and Bill Upshaw, aged 31—are extrapolated from the interviews held with all members of the sample before and after their release from prison. Their histories and personal characteristics therefore reflect those of the major subgroups in the sample population but are not representative of the more unusual attributes of some project participants. For example, two members of the sample had some college education, although most of the remainder did not reach the 10th grade; similarly, one of those interviewed had been married twice, in contrast to the 73 percent who described themselves as "never married." Readers interested in exploring the full range of the participants' characteristics are invited to consult appendix B.

Fred Green

Prerelease Experience

Fred Green is an 18-year-old black who has a little more than 9 years of schooling. He is single but has one child and plans to see his girl friend frequently after his release. However, he will be living with his mother and grandmother in a small rowhouse also inhabited by his older sister, two younger halfsisters, his older brother, his sister-in-law, and their 2-year-old child. Fred's younger half brother has been in reform school for the past 11 months but will be rejoining the family 2 months after Fred's return. Fred's health is good, although he complains of frequent colds and minor illnesses. He broke his arm several months ago in what he describes as an "accident," but was really a fight with another inmate. Before incarceration, he drank rarely, smoked marijuana "sometimes," and experimented with a number of hard drugs when his older brother was able to make them available. He is not an addict, however.

Fred was born in Baltimore, but his parents are natives of North Carolina who moved to Maryland with Mrs. Green's mother 2 years before Fred's birth. Mrs. Green and her mother make semiannual trips "home," where numerous relatives still reside, but Fred has not accompanied them on these trips since his childhood. Mr. Green left the family when Fred was 5 years old to work "someplace in New Jersey," and Fred no longer remembers him clearly.

Fred's mother, who is 41 years old, was on welfare for more than 5 years after Mr. Green's departure. She now works as a stock clerk, taking occasional days off from her regular job to pick up extra income as a household worker. Fred's grandmother, aged 57, is employed 3 days a week as a household worker and is a regular churchgoer. His older brother works sporadically in a garage but obtains most of his income from the sale of stolen goods, supplemented by occasional drug dealing. His older sister, who is attending business school, works 24 hours a week in a local drugstore. Before Fred's imprisonment, she quarreled frequently with him and is the only member of the family who has not visited him or sent him letters, gifts, or money while he has been in prison. Fred says she is "too serious." His girl friend made frequent prison visits during the first few months of his term, but the relationship has weakened considerably in the past months. However, his acquaintances among the incoming in-

mates have told Fred that she is not living with someone else, and he expects to be able to renew the relationship on its former footing "after I talk her around."

Fred's first arrest—for stealing hubcaps—occurred when he was 12 years old. He was discharged with a warning, but 4 months later he was rearrested, along with his older brother, for possession of marijuana. Although his brother was given a stretch in reform school, Fred was again discharged. In the next 2 years, he received numerous warnings for creating disturbances in school and was expelled not long after his 14th birthday. He was then enrolled in another school but attended infrequently before dropping out at 15. An arrest for breaking and entering when he was 15 led to his first incarceration—for 6 months in the same reform school from which his brother had been released not long before. Three months after completing his first term, he was arrested again—for auto theft and resisting arrest—and returned to the same reform school for a similar stretch. He reports that he liked the reformatory because so many of his buddies were there.

His first adult arrest—again with his brother and again for drug possession—resulted in dropped charges because of a technicality. Not long before his 18th birthday, he and two other youth held up a liquor store and beat up the owner. Fred drew a 1-year sentence but will be paroled after serving a little more than 9 months. Upon leaving prison, Fred will have about $75 in savings, almost all of which represents the remainder of some $180 given to him at various times by members of his family while he was serving his term. Since his savings exceed $20, he will receive no gate money. He has a supply of clothing at home, but he describes these items as "old threads" and says that he suspects his brother has been wearing them in his absence. He wants to invest the bulk of his savings in new clothes, which he plans to wear while job hunting.

Except for a couple of 2-month stints as a part-time stock clerk in a supermarket, Fred has never been employed. (Both of his supermarket jobs were terminated by arrests.) During his second term in reform school, he was exposed briefly to vocational training in auto mechanics (although he does not know how to drive). He had sought to pursue an auto mechanics course during his current prison term but was assigned to the laundry instead. He expresses no interest in entering a job training program upon his release. Rather, he expects to be working part time at $1.80 an hour, pumping gas at a service station near his home, "as a start," and indicates that he will be looking for full-time employment when not on duty at the service station. He says that his grandmother was able to arrange for the part-time job because she and the station's owner attend the same church.

He will be looking for work as an auto mechanic and plans to register at the local employment service office. His older brother has learned to drive in the past year and says he will teach Fred to drive, although no one in the family owns a car. Fred first says that he doesn't know how long it will take to get a job as a full-time auto mechanic and then says it should take "a couple of weeks."

Postrelease Experience

The First Week. When interviewed 1 week after his release from prison, Fred Green reported that he had returned to his mother's row home and was enjoying his sole occupancy of an attic room that he would have to share with his half brother when the latter returned from reform school in 2 months. He noted with some surprise that his mother had asked him to pay her $10 a week out of his part-time earnings at the gas station toward the household expenses. He called this "payin' rent in my own house" and seemed puzzled by his mother's request, but he said he had agreed to give her the money anyway. He had begun work at the gas station 3 days earlier and was looking forward to his first paycheck. The work, he said, was easy to learn and perform, but he would have preferred to work in the afternoons rather than the mornings (so he could "get some extra zee's once in a while") and to receive his pay weekly rather than twice a month. ("It's hard to wait that long for cash when you need it," he said.)

He had not yet registered at the employment service or sought full-time employment on his own, reporting that he had been too busy seeing his girl friend, renewing old acquaintanceships, and buying clothes to start looking for a job. He had already spent most of the $75 he possessed on leaving prison to purchase shirts and shoes (both new, the interviewer noted) and had requested an additional $50 from his mother. Although she had given him the money, it was apparently this request that had prompted her to suggest that he contribute $10 a week toward the household.

Fred's prediction that he could restore his relationship with his girl friend to its former footing proved correct. (He boasted that it had taken him less than an hour to achieve this result.) However, when the interviewer inquired after the health of his child, he shrugged noncommittally. The child, a son, lived with Fred's girl friend, but Fred showed little interest in him—indeed, none of his purchases during the preceding week were for his son, girl friend, or mother.

Fred seemed a little concerned about stretching his available cash until his first payday and said he was unwilling to ask his mother for more money since she had "made such a thing" about his latest request. He was fairly certain that he could obtain additional cash from his grandmother or his brother but wanted to "wait a little while" before approaching either of them.

Fred had been assigned to the group that was to receive financial aid but no help in finding employment. When he was informed that he could count on a regular supplementary income for the next 13 weeks, Fred showed a marked drop in physical tension. Seated stiffly during most of the interview, he now relaxed in his chair, stretched his legs, and expressed great relief about the future. ("Man, you don't know what I was planning to do a few weeks from now," he said.) From this point onward, and in subsequent interviews, Fred was compliant and responsive in the interview situation, although he never lost his abrasive cockiness and always remained somewhat cautious when discussing his own or his friends' extra-legal activities.

Mrs. Green's concern about Fred's financial contribution to the household was clarified later in the interview when Fred reported that the family was anticipating several major increases in its outlays. His sister faced a tuition increase at her business school and would not be able to cover the difference from her part-time wages at the drugstore, his sister-in-law was expecting a second child, and one of his grandmother's day-work employers had moved away. Fred suspected that his sister-in-law was planning to leave the Green household after the birth of the baby, a plan that he approved. ("She can take the kids and go on welfare, and we'll all have more room," he said.) He reported that, since returning from prison, he had already had an argument with the sister-in-law, as well as with his sister; the subject of both disputes was the noise made by some of his buddies when they stopped by to see him the day after his return and prolonged their visit into a rowdy party. Two of these visitors had been among Fred's fellow inmates, a fact that had distressed his mother and grandmother, although they refrained from starting another argument with Fred on this point. Fred noted that he planned to get together with two other former inmates the following Saturday night. They had no definite plans for the evening, but intended to "walk around a little, see some chicks, find out what's happening."

Fred reported that he had consumed alcohol on three occasions during the past week, once during the impromptu party at his home and twice at friends' homes when they toasted his release from prison. He said this was well above his usual level of alcohol consumption and mimed his distaste for liquor, but he indicated that he hoped to be able to smoke some marijuana the following Saturday evening. His brother had offered him some grass on the day Fred returned home, but he had refused in order to avoid an argument with his mother and grandmother.

Fred accounted for the remainder of his time during the preceding week by mentioning a movie he had attended with his girl friend and a visit to his probation officer. (He had taken a taxi both ways.) He described his use of time on the preceding day as "usual," indicating that he had worked at the service station in the morning; he then lunched at a local carryout store and talked for a while with some buddies before proceding to his girl friend's home, where he "slept a little, watched TV." He went to his mother's home for dinner and installed a new shade in his attic window before returning to the carryout store, where he "just stayed around awhile, talked to some guys," before starting home at 1 a.m.

The Fourth Week. As he had on the previous occasion, Fred Green reported to his fourth-week interview wearing new clothes. He was still the sole occupant of the attic room in his mother's rowhouse, but indicated that he was spending an increasing proportion of his time at his girl friend's—in part because his relationship with his own family seemed to be deteriorating. His mother, grandmother, and sister had objected repeatedly to the frequent visits by groups of his friends. ("My grandmother says they never seem to come calling one at a time, but always five or six together," he reported.) And his mother was holding him firmly to his agreement to provide a weekly contribution to the household expenses. Since he had begun receiving financial aid from the

project in addition to his part-time wages from the gas station, this contribution had been raised to $15 a week. Each time his mother collected the sum, they argued over who had the right to the money.

A measure of the climate of Fred's home since his return from prison was provided by his report that his sister-in-law had already moved out and applied for welfare, although she had intended to remain until her second child was born. Fred's grandmother was thinking of moving in with her for a while to help look after the older child and "get some peace and quiet." His brother had been arrested on a drug-dealing charge and was out on bail awaiting trial. Fred himself had been approached by a patrol car unit two nights before the interview, when he and some friends were standing outside the local carryout after midnight. Their ID's had been checked and they were searched for drugs and weapons.

Fred's part-time job seemed to be in jeopardy, primarily because of his late nights at the carryout, which had caused him to miss work or report late on a number of occasions. He was due to be fired on the next payday if his performance didn't improve. ("I asked him to let me work afternoons, but he wouldn't buy it," Fred said.)

Fred had registered at the employment service during the second week after his release but had not returned since then. He had made a few attempts to find full-time work but complained that his morning hours at the gas station prevented an effective job search. ("By the time I get downtown, everything's taken," he said.)

During the preceding week, Fred had twice requested additional funds from his family. When his paycheck was smaller than expected because of his absences from work, he asked his mother for money (which she refused and he obtained from his brother). The second time he got $5 from his grandmother to help pay for a tape recorder he purchased from a friend for $15. Fred acknowledged that the friend had stolen the tape recorder and said he had resold it for $30.

Of the project funds given him the preceding week, Fred had given $15 to his mother and had spent most of the remainder on clothes. He used his wages from the gas station to cover incidentals and relied on wheeling and dealing among his friends to obtain larger sums, usually through purchase and resale of stolen goods. From the proceeds of one of these deals, he had been able to give his girl friend $20 for clothing.

Fred indicated that he had smoked marijuana on three occasions during the week, twice while standing outside the carryout and once with his brother. In each instance, other persons had made the purchase and shared it with him. He had also split a bottle of wine with his girl friend one evening. His use of time on the preceding day was described as "unusual," in that he had missed work in the morning through oversleeping and spent much of the afternoon waiting to see a dentist at a local health center, where he went to get a lost filling replaced. He had dined at his girl friend's house and watched TV for a while before going to the carryout. There he arranged with a friend for a portable color TV, which he bought for $40 on Saturday and resold to a coworker for $70 on Monday. He remained at the carryout until midnight before returning to his mother's house.

The Eighth Week. Fred Green appeared a little shaken at the outset of his eighth-week interview. He had been picked up by the police 2 days earlier and taken to the station house, where it appeared likely that he would be booked for receiving stolen goods. He had been released a few hours later, however. ("They couldn't prove nothing," he said.) But he was still somewhat apprehensive because the police seemed to be keeping the carryout under surveillance.

Fred had lost his part-time job at the gas station 3 weeks earlier. Since then, at his mother's behest, he had returned to the employment service twice and had approached a few local gas stations on his own in search of work. The manager of one service station had indicated that he might need someone in a few weeks and had taken Fred's address and phone number. Fred was unenthusiastic about working full time but expressed willingness to take a full-time job "for a while" to appease his mother.

Since he lost his part-time job, Fred's financial contribution to the household had been cut back to $10 a week, paid on the day he received his check from the project. He reported that he no longer quarreled with his mother over this weekly contribution, primarily because the sum involved now seemed insignificant in relation to the amounts he was able to obtain by buying and reselling stolen goods. (In one recent transaction involving a fur coat, he had cleared nearly $300.)

Nonetheless, Fred's relations with his family were still strained. He reported two heated discussions with his mother and grandmother during

the preceding week, one over his near arrest and the other over his purchases of new clothes. He continued to spend a large proportion of time at his girl friend's, partly to escape the unfriendly climate of his own home and partly because he was using his girl friend's home to store stolen goods and arrange for their purchase and resale.

His older brother was still awaiting trial on a drug-dealing charge; Fred anticipated a conviction and planned to move into the brother's room when this occurred, leaving his attic quarters to the younger brother, who was due to return shortly from reform school.

He had not felt the need to seek additional funds from friends or relatives during the preceding week; instead, he had been able to give $20 to his brother and had lent $25 to one of his friends from the carryout. Concerning the $60 received from the project, he reported that he had given $10 to his mother and used most of the rest for clothes. He volunteered that, of the $60 for the current week, he planned to give $10 to his mother and $50 to his girl friend. ("She wants it for the kid," he said.)

He had consumed no alcohol during the week but had smoked marijuana twice with his girl friend. His use of time on the preceding day was described as "unusual" because, following his near arrest, he had felt it wise to remain close to home, avoiding both his friends from the carryout and his "warehouse" at his girl friend's home. He had spent the morning in bed and had played cards with his brother during most of the afternoon. After dinner, he had painted a table in his grandmother's room before watching TV and going to bed at 11 p.m.

The Thirteenth Week. Thirteen weeks after leaving prison, Fred Green was still unemployed in spite of having received an offer of full-time employment at a local gas station. Fred had expressed disinterest in the pay, which was considerably lower than his combined income from the project and his activities in receiving and selling stolen goods. He was no longer contributing to the expenses of his mother's household, since he had moved out several weeks earlier. ("She was giving me too much hassle," he said.) He was now living with his girl friend but had moved his "warehouse" of stolen goods awaiting resale to the apartment of a male friend—apparently because he felt safer from police scrutiny if his residence and the stolen goods were kept under separate roofs.

Since his previous interview, he had not found it necessary to seek financial assistance from friends or relatives. In fact, he had given $50 to his younger brother, who had recently returned from reform school, and over $100 to his girl friend. However, he had not adopted any regular system of contributing to the household expenses or the support of his son; instead, he handed over sums of varying size as he felt so inclined and as money became available. He indicated that he now used the $60 weekly payments from the project to cover incidential expenses.

His use of time had changed in one major respect since his previous interview; he no longer spent much time hanging around the local carryout, primarily because the weather had turned cold. The group from the carryout now gathered at his girl friend's apartment or at the "warehouse," and Fred reported that police surveillance had loosened somewhat now that they spent most of their time off the street. He had consumed alcohol and marijuana several times in the preceding week, an increase in his consumption levels apparently related to the frequent late-evening visits by his friends from the carryout. He described his use of time on the preceding day as "usual"—he had slept late and spent most of the afternoon and evening "rapping and watching TV" until 1 a.m.

Since this was the last time Fred would receive a weekly stipend from the project, he was asked to assess the impact of the financial assistance on his postrelease circumstances. Fred said it had made a major difference in the first few weeks after release because he had been contemplating some burglaries as a means of loosening his straitened financial circumstances. He confessed that active thievery frightened him a good deal, however, and that he was relieved to be "let off *that* hook" by the weekly payments from the project. Aside from its role in restraining him from active theft, he indicated that the financial assistance had made "no difference" in his job search patterns, use of time, or personal outlook.

Joe Wright

Prerelease Experience

Joe Wright is a 23-year-old black, the unmarried father of three children—one by his former girl

friend, with whom he has lost contact, and two by his current attachment, who has been living with his mother since Joe's most recent arrest. Like Fred Green, Joe expects to return to his mother's rowhouse but looks upon this arrangement as temporary, since "kids are too noisy." In addition to two of his own children, five younger brothers and sisters live in the house. He does not indicate that he plans to set up housekeeping with his girl friend and his children but says he wants to move as soon as he can afford it.

In the past 10 years, Joe has been hospitalized three times—twice for injuries received in fights and once after experimenting with "some pills." He does not know what kind of pills caused his hospitalization. His health is generally good, although an old knife wound on his left arm still makes it difficult for him to lift heavy objects. He has never been in the armed services, having been rejected by the Army when he tried to enlist at age 20.

Joe believes his father was born in Baltimore, but he isn't certain, since his parents split up not long before his birth. His mother has not remarried, but has since had two relatively long relationships, resulting in the five younger children mentioned earlier. Joe does not know where his father is now but speaks affectionately of his current "stepfather," Pete, a shipyard worker who makes frequent financial gifts to Mrs. Wright's children, including those who are not his own.

Born in Alabama, Mrs. Wright left home in her late teens to join an aunt then living in Baltimore. She worked briefly in her aunt's hairdressing establishment before marrying Joe's father. After Mr. Wright's departure, she returned to the hairdressing shop part time and relied on her aunt, with whom she lived, for the remainder of her support. Following the aunt's death when Joe was 9 years old, she lived for a time on the proceeds from the sale of the shop. During her third pregnancy, however, she turned to welfare, which has since been her major source of income, occasionally supplemented by door-to-door sales of cosmetics. Joe is somewhat uncertain when asked exactly how long the family has been on welfare.

Mrs. Wright has visited Joe "a few times" during his current prison term, but he indicates that her visits have decreased in frequency since his first incarcerations, when she would come to see him as often as the regulations permitted. She does not write well enough to correspond, but Joe's current girl friend visits and corresponds regularly, usually conveying messages from Mrs. Wright. His stepfather, Pete, has served time on several occasions and visits Joe about once a month, bringing small gifts of cigarettes and cash. Joe admires Pete, not only because he is prison-wise, but also because he was able to "get himself together" after his latest incarceration and secure a skilled job in the shipyard. He is contemptuous of his first "stepfather," Billy, whom he describes as a "real dummy" and the cause of the family's first encounters with law enforcement authorities. Billy was a heroin addict, who died a few years ago. Joe is equally scornful of all addicts but admits he has tried assorted pills on a number of occasions.

Joe was 13 years old when he was first arrested, for shoplifting and resisting arrest. Placed on probation, he was picked up again within 2 months for truancy and failure to report to his probation officer but was dismissed with a warning.

Not long after his 14th birthday, he and two other youth were arrested for purse snatching; all three were sent to reform school but, as the youngest, Joe drew the shortest sentence—60 days—primarily because the judge wanted him released in time to resume regular schooling in the fall. However, Joe was rearrested a few days after the beginning of the school term, this time for attempted robbery and assault (in which another student was the victim). He spent the next 10 months in reform school, where he received some vocational education in carpentry. Released once more, Joe began seeing one girl regularly, fathered a child, and remained out of trouble with the law for nearly a year. During this period, he dropped out of school for good and made a few ineffectual efforts to find a job, but he relied primarily on his mother and girl friend for pocket money. He obtained occasional larger sums from mugging and burglary but escaped arrest for these crimes.

When Joe was 17, the police entered his girl friend's home and arrested her for possession of narcotics. While the search and arrest were in process, Joe assaulted one of the police officers with a knife and was himself arrested. The initial charge of attempted manslaughter was later reduced to assault on a police officer and possession of a deadly weapon, for which he was convicted and sentenced to 3 years—his first imprisonment as an adult. He served 2½ years before being released on parole; his girl friend had been released more than a year earlier and had since left Baltimore with Joe's child. He was soon picked

up again for parole violation, but this charge was dropped on a technicality.

During the next 16 months, Joe established a steady relationship with another girl, fathered another child, and resumed his pattern of occasional theft. While his girl friend was pregnant for the second time, he was arrested for auto theft and possession of a deadly weapon and drew a 2-year sentence. He will be released on parole after serving 18 months, during which he received nearly a year's training in carpentry. His parole officer has lined up a job for him as an apprentice in the same shipyard where Pete is employed. Joe is apprehensive about his chances of keeping the job, however, since has never worked before.

Upon his release, Joe will have some $37 on hand, including a few dollars in prison wages and a small accumulation of cash remaining from the occasional sums supplied by Pete and Joe's girl friend. He has received no cash gifts from his mother during his current imprisonment but counts on getting some pocket money from her between his return home and first paycheck. Since his savings exceed $20, Joe will receive no gate money.

Postrelease Experience

The First Week. As anticipated, Joe Wright reported that he had reestablished residence in his mother's rowhouse and had begun work at the shipyard the Monday following his release on Friday. His level of anxiety about the job seemed much reduced since his prerelease interview; evidently, his stepfather, Pete, had made a point of easing the transition by introducing Joe to his buddies and by providing after-hours instruction in the techniques Joe was expected to master on the job. Pete had also advanced Joe $100 against his future wages, to be reimbursed in $10 installments each payday. A measure of Joe's dependence on the older man was provided by the fact that Pete accompanied him (at Joe's request) to the project office "to look the place over" and waited for him in a nearby drugstore until the interview was over. Joe admitted that he was more apprehensive about being released from prison on this occasion than he had been at previous times—partly, he explained, because he had "never tried so hard to get it together before."

Joe had been assigned to the group receiving financial aid without employment assistance. When informed that he would receive $35 a week for 22 weeks, his intial reactions were confused and suspicious. In the course of the interview, however, the news had time to sink in and his confidence mounted perceptibly. By the time he received his ID card and was escorted (with Pete) to get his check cashed, he was elated and started banging Pete and the interviewer in turn on the shoulder and repeating, "How *about* that!" The transition from depression to elation and back again was typical of Joe in many later interviews and helped to explain the contrast between his normally rather passive behavior and the episodes of violence in his past.

Joe's mother had not asked him to contribute anything toward the household expenses, but he had been badly jolted by a conversation with his girl friend in which she had made him understand that his employment, combined with his residence in the house, could eventually jeopardize his mother's welfare status and possibly that of his girl friend as well. He shook his head in bewilderment over the fact that he might have to choose between his job and his home (in spite of his earlier avowals of determination to leave home as soon as he could afford it) and described how he had turned repeatedly to his stepfather for advice and moral support during the preceding week. Joe's conversation with his girl friend was undoubtedly shattering to him, and it became clear in the course of the interview that Joe was quick to perceive that the offer of financial assistance from the project could provide a temporary solution to the problem—in other words, the immediate effect of the financial aid was a weakening of his job attachment.

As he had expected, Joe was oppressed by the crowded conditions in his home (which he nevertheless now dreaded leaving) and by the fact that he had to compete with his brothers and sisters, as well as with his own children, for his mother's attention. Twice during the interview, he referred to the entire younger brood as "the other kids," thus illuminating his perception of his own status vis-a-vis the entire family, including his children. He showed little personal interest in his children and complained again about their noisiness.

Joe had not intended to make any significant purchases until he received his first paycheck, but the $100 loan from Pete had made it possible for him to buy some workshoes, workgloves, and small gifts for his mother and girl friend. He had been on the point of buying some additional clothes for himself but had refrained at Pete's behest and—again at Pete's urging—had made a second shopping expedition to buy some cheap toys for the children. "Pete said they should come from me, even though the money's his," Joe reported.

He said he knew one of his coworkers from prison and that he had run into another former inmate while shopping during the preceding week. For the most part, Joe said, he was trying to avoid prison acquaintances "to stay out of trouble," with the exception of one prison buddy who was also a friend from childhood days. They had been through grade school, reform school, and prison together and shared common interests in bowling and watching football on TV.

With this friend, Joe and his girl friend had smoked some marijuana the Sunday after his release from prison. On the evening of his release, he had had a couple of drinks at his mother's home.

During the preceding week, Joe had spent most of his daytime hours at work and his evenings either watching TV or being coached for the job by Pete. He reported that he was not yet used to the physical demands of shipyard work and found it hard to concentrate on anything in the evenings because of fatigue. He had not been involved in any arguments at home, "except to smack the kids a couple of times for making noise."

He described his use of time on the preceding day as "usual," with work in the morning and afternoon, followed by dinner at his mother's home, an hour's instruction on carpentry from Pete, and "a couple of hours watching a movie on TV." He had called it a day at 10:30 p.m.

The Fourth Week. The fourth-week interview found Joe Wright somewhat less nervous and more settled than he had been a month earlier. He reported that he was still working at the shipyard but complained about the physical demands of the job, which left him with little energy in the evenings. ("Pete says I'll get used to it, but I don't see how. I don't seem to do anything but work," he said.) He indicated that he planned to look for a less demanding job in a few months' time.

He seemed now to rely somewhat less heavily on Pete, indicating that he had substituted his own judgment for that of his stepfather on a number of occasions. Relations with the older man were still friendly, however.

The supplement to his shipyard wages had made it possible for him to contribute $20 a week toward the household expenses, a procedure and a sum suggested by Joe himself and accepted by his mother. This arrangement seemed to have boosted his confidence considerably, and he revealed that he now felt free to discipline the children when they got out of hand. (In earlier conversations, the interviewer had found that some of Joe's complaints about the noisiness of the younger children were justified, since neither Joe's mother nor his girl friend gave them much supervision.)

According to Joe, the welfare authorities were not yet aware of his presence in the house, much less of the fact that he was employed. He now seemed to be relatively confident that it would be several months at least before any issue concerning his mother's or girl friend's welfare status could be brought to a head. By then, he indicated, he or his girl friend might have moved out, since their relationship was no longer fully satisfactory to either of them. ("We don't fight much, but we're both seeing other people, and it don't look like it's gonna last," Joe said.) He conjectured that his children would remain in his mother's house, at least for the time being, since his girl friend did not seem to take much interest in them.

In the last few weeks, Joe had started dating a distant cousin, who had recently moved to Baltimore from the South and found full-time work in a supermarket. He hoped to be able to move in with her eventually but seemed content to remain where he was for the time being. During the preceding week, Joe reported that he had given $20 of his $35 weekly supplement to his mother and had used the remainder for incidentals, mostly transportation and lunch. The fact that he did not have to subtract the cost of incidentals from his paycheck had also made it possible for him to use a portion of his wages to purchase some new shirts, one of which he wore to the interview.

He was still trying to limit his contacts with former inmates but reported that this was not always easy. ("Seems like these are the only guys I know," he said. "Anyway, sometimes these are the guys I *want* to talk to, y'know what I mean?") He had run into former inmates "three or four times" the preceding week but was indefinite concerning the circumstances.

He reported one argument during the week; he and his new girl friend had gone to a bar on Saturday night and met several acquaintances. One of them had paid too much attention to Joe's girl and he had protested. ("Nearly had a fight. I smoked some grass later, though, and got real peaceful again," he reported.)

He also indicated that relations with one of his coworkers were less than friendly. In this case, the dispute appeared to be an inherited one, since

Pete did not get along particularly well with this coworker either.

Aside from the alcohol and marijuana consumed on Saturday evening, Sunday afternoon had been spent in sharing a bottle of Scotch with his mother, stepfather, and girl friend (the old one). Otherwise, his use of time during the preceding week was similar to that during his first week after release. Pete no longer gave him special coaching in carpentry, however, since both felt that he had mastered enough of the trade to perform adequately on the job.

His use of time on the preceding day was described as "a little unusual," since he had injured his hand with a hammer while at work and had spent part of the afternoon in getting first aid at the worksite. After dinner at his mother's home, he had called on his new girl friend and watched TV at her place until 11 p.m. before returning to his mother's home.

The Eighth Week. At the eighth-week interview, Joe Wright reported that his hours at the shipyard had been cut back temporarily from 8 to 5 hours a day. He was not all sorry about this arrangement, which would last for 2 more weeks, and planned to use the time to look for a less demanding job.

His contribution to the household expenses had become less regular; instead of $20 a week, he had given his mother his entire $35 allotment from the project the previous week, after permitting his contributions to lapse altogether the 2 preceding weeks. His mother had not protested, perhaps because Joe himself had suggested the weekly payments of $20 and almost certainly because the departure of Joe's girl friend and children had reduced the household expenses. The three had moved to a nearby apartment, and the girl friend apparently had established a steady relationship with another man. Joe, meanwhile, was solidifying his relationship with his distant cousin; they planned to inspect a few vacant apartments during Joe's 2 weeks of partial layoff ("to see what we can get for the rent") but had not yet formed a clear intention to live together.

Joe reported that he had spent four evenings of the preceding week at his new girl friend's home and three evenings at a neighborhood tavern, where he arranged to buy a stolen television set for his new girl friend and bought some marijuana. He had not quarreled with anyone during the week, nor had he had any contact with law enforcement authorities.

His use of time on the preceding day was described as "usual." He had worked from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., before returning to his mother's home for lunch. He visited his girl friend in the afternoon, remaining there until about 10 p.m.

The Thirteenth Week. Joe Wright reported that he had succeeded in finding a new job since his previous interview. He was now working as a carpenter for a local nonunion contractor, at a substantial increase in hourly wages over the apprentice's scale he had received at the shipyard. He reported that the new job was not as physically demanding as the previous one and that his coworkers were friendlier, but he showed some concern over the seasonality of the work and the possibility that he might be laid off for a long period during the winter. If he did experience such a layoff, he hoped to be able to obtain part-time work at the shipyard with the assistance of his stepfather.

He had spent little time at his mother's house during the preceding month, staying with his new girl friend instead. Her apartment was small, however, and they were actively searching for a larger place. His last financial contribution to his mother's household expenses had been $25, paid nearly a month earlier. Since then, he had been saving all of his financial allotment, together with a portion of his wages, toward the rent for the larger apartment. The wages from his new job were sufficient to permit him to contribute $50 a week to his girl friend's household expenses and to purchase occasional small gifts for her and his mother. Altogether, Joe was well satisfied with his present financial circumstances and said he was glad to have been able to find work with the contractor while the financial assistance from the project was still available. (Since Joe was receiving less than $60 a week, he had not yet exhausted his $780 allotment. The 13th-week interview, therefore, did not include a question inviting him to assess the total impact of the financial aid on his postrelease experience.)

Concerning his use of time during the preceding week, he reported that he had been asked to work overtime on three evenings and Saturday, in addition to his normal workweek. He and his girl friend had attended a wedding on Sunday and had spent most of their remaining time apartment hunting. On the day preceding the interview, he had worked from 8:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. and passed the remainder of the evening watching television.

Bill Upshaw

Prerelease Experience

Bill Upshaw is a 31-year-old black, who has been separated from his wife for the past 8 years. He has four children, two by his wife and two by his girl friend, with whom he maintained a fairly steady relationship for the 4 years preceding his current imprisonment. He is asthmatic and has suffered some loss of hearing in one ear as the result of a blow received in a fight during his early twenties. He was addicted to heroin during his late teens but went through withdrawal while serving a prison sentence and has not become readdicted since then. His experience with addiction followed his release from the Army, after he developed asthmatic symptoms during basic training and was discharged for medical reasons.

Bill's parents were born in North Carolina and moved to Baltimore when Bill was 8 years old. His father returned to the South 2 years later, but the family members retain some degree of contact with each other, exchanging visits and phone calls several times a year. Bill's older brother and sister returned to North Carolina with Bill's father and still reside there. His two younger sisters and younger brother live in Baltimore, the brother and one sister with Mrs. Upshaw and the other sister with her husband. Bill will not be returning to his mother's rowhouse, however; instead, he will share his girl friend's apartment in a housing project a few blocks from Mrs. Upshaw's residence.

Mrs. Upshaw has been employed for many years as a summer kitchen worker in a hotel on the Eastern Shore. (When her children were younger, they spent each summer with their father in North Carolina; in later years, however, they spent the summer months in the care of a neighbor.) During the winter, Mrs. Upshaw normally collects unemployment insurance benefits for a few months before turning to welfare. She gains additional income as a household worker and as an occasional cook for a large caterer. Bill's girl friend is also on welfare, although she supplements her income by working part time for a local drycleaner. Both she and Mrs. Upshaw visit and correspond with Bill fairly regularly. Contact with other members of the family is more sporadic: his father corresponds and his brothers and sisters visit every few months.

Beginning when he was 9 years old, Bill has been arrested five times as a juvenile and six times as an adult. His juvenile encounters with the law involved shoplifting and attempted robbery, with the exception of one arrest for possession of narcotics (marijuana) when he was 16. Five of his six adult arrests occurred between ages 17 and 24, two for auto theft, two for breaking and entering, and one for aggravated assault (on his wife). Convicted four times as a juvenile and four times as an adult, Bill has spent a total of nearly 15 years in reform school or prison.

As a result of vocational and job training received while serving his sentences, he is a skilled auto mechanic and was employed irregularly during his early twenties and steadily between the ages of 26 and 29. He abandoned criminal activities during these 3 years of regular employment but was arrested for breaking and entering after he had been laid off for nearly 5 months. His asthma worsened while he was serving his current sentence, and he describes himself as "too sick and too slow" to undertake any more criminal activities. For the past 3 months, he has been on a work-release program, and his former employer has agreed to hire him back following his release on parole.

On leaving prison, Bill will have about $320 on hand, including approximately $290 saved from earnings while on work-release and the remainder accumulated from cash gifts supplied by his girl friend and family. Since his resources exceed $20, he will receive no gate money. His other possessions include some clothing and furniture, a stereo, a TV, and a tape recorder—all in his girl friend's apartment. He sent part of his work-release earnings to his girl friend to purchase clothing for his children and part to his mother to help her buy a car, which he counts on being able to use after his release.

Postrelease Experience

The First Week. Bill was downcast when he reported for his first-week interview. Originally scheduled to start working for his former employer within 2 weeks of his release, Bill said he was now told that the employer would not be able to use him for another 6 to 8 weeks. With his girl friend's help, Bill thought he could stretch his financial resources to cover his personal needs during that period, but he was aware that his margin of security was in danger of evaporating and felt bitter about the sudden change in plans.

("How can a guy keep out of trouble when things like this happen?" he asked.) He and his girl friend had made long-range plans that included divorce from their respective spouses, marriage, and the girl friend's leaving welfare as soon as Bill's job and income were secure. When day care could be arranged for the children, the girl friend planned to return to work full time.

Much of Bill's time during the preceding week had been spent in discussing the sudden change in his employment situation with family and friends and in pursuing job leads. Bill was highly unsettled by the need to decide whether to seek a permanent job elsewhere or temporary work in the hope that his former employer was sincere in promising employment in 6 to 8 weeks. He had nearly secured a temporary job during the week but was ultimately turned down (he felt) because of his record.

He admitted readily that securing his old job was emotionally important to him because he preferred to be in a familiar situation, where people were aware of his record. Besides, his former employer had voiced his respect for Bill's skills and had paid fairly well. ("He only laid me off before because he had some oldtimers he couldn't let go," Bill said.)

Bill had been assigned to the group that was to receive both financial aid and employment assistance. He greeted this news with both relief and considerable realism. ("Thirteen weeks is shorter than it sounds," he said about the financial aid, and his comment about the employment assistance was "It's nice to get some help, but it still won't be easy.") (Later the same day, the interviewer consulted with the employment service staff, who agreed to talk to Bill's former employer to see if Bill's return to work could be speeded up. If not, they were prepared to try to place him in a temporary job, provided one could be found.)

Before his release from prison, Bill and his girl friend had decided that they would resume their earlier financial arrangements once Bill was regularly employed. He would contribute $75 a month toward the rent (about half the total) and a similar sum toward the household expenses. From the remainder of his salary, he would provide additional sums as occasional emergencies arose (if one of the children was injured or sick, for example). He held a similar responsibility toward his mother's household and still planned to help his mother make payments on her car.

Except for the car payments, all of these plans were now in indefinite abeyance, and Bill was depressed by the possiblity that he might once more become dependent on his girl friend or his mother. ("Sure, I can pay my way now and the $60 a week will help," he said, "but don't forget what happened when I was out of work before." He shook his head. "I'll be okay if I can just settle this thing fast.")

He described his living arrangements as comfortable and his family relationships as amicable. ("It's not a bad housing project," he said.) His mother was due to begin her summer employment on the Eastern Shore in less than a month, a fact which added to Bill's anxiety, since his younger brother and sister, now in their twenties, were likely to turn to Bill for occasional financial help once their mother was out of town.

He reported no arguments with any family member or friend during the week but mentioned a chilly discussion with an acquaintance from prison who had suggested that Bill help him sell drugs if he wanted some ready cash while looking for work. ("He should know by now I don't deal no drugs," Bill said.) Their meeting had been accidental.

He had seen his parole officer twice during the week, once to report his release and once to discuss the change in his employment outlook.

He had consumed alcohol on two occasions, once on the evening of his release and once to ease an asthma attack (evidently prompted by the news of his postponed employment). He had not smoked marijuana or used any other drug.

He described his use of time on the day before as "usual for the week." He had spent the morning and early afternoon making the rounds of local garages and auto repair shops seeking employment and job leads. Later in the afternoon, he had taken the children to his mother's house because his girl friend was working at the dry-cleaner's shop, and he wanted to visit a friend in his mother's neighborhood. He had eaten dinner at home, talked on the phone to a few friends about employment prospects, reviewed the want ads in the morning paper, watched TV, and gone to bed.

The Fourth Week. Bill reported for his fourth-week interview in a considerably more cheerful frame of mind than at any time in the preceding month. He had talked to his old employer the day before and had secured a commitment to let him start work in 10 days.

The month following his release had been psychologically difficult for Bill, since the best efforts of the employment service staff had secured him no more than 3 days of temporary work. The

financial assistance provided by the project had been important in stretching Bill's slender resources, but it had become apparent during successive interviews that Bill attached great emotional significance to the fact of being employed (which was not at all surprising, given the circumstances of his latest imprisonment).

"Now I've got a future again," he told the interviewer during the fourth-week session.

Bill had spent most of his time during the preceding week in seeking a job. He reported, however, that, after much consideration, he had agreed to purchase some stolen goods at very low cost from a friend (two TV sets and a cassette player for $30) in order to resell them. ("He was just trying to do me a favor, and I needed to turn a buck," Bill said.) He had, in fact, cleared a profit of about $70. He had used most of this money to pay nearly half the month's rent on his girl friend's apartment and showed particular satisfaction that he had secured it through his own efforts rather than from the project. However, he had used project funds, to help his mother make a payment on her car, which Bill had been using nearly every day to expedite his job search.

Relations with his girl friend and children continued to be peaceful, although "she was showing the strain of me having no job," he reported. Bill's mother had left for the Eastern Shore prior to the third-week interview; since her departure, Bill had already quarreled twice with his younger brother and sister over their demands for money. ("They're both trouble. Got no sense, either one," he said.)

Bill reported no contacts with prison acquaintances during the week, saying he had been too busy looking for a job to do much socializing. He had been stopped for speeding on his way to a job interview in the suburbs, but the officer had let him go when he explained that he was afraid of being late for the interview. ("Waste of gas. I didn't get the job," he commented.) This had been his only contact with law enforcement authorities, aside from his weekly visit to his parole officer.

He and his girl friend had attended a party the previous Saturday evening and both had had several drinks. On Monday evening, he had had a drink with his brother to patch up a quarrel over money.

He described his use of time on the preceding day as "unusual." After spending most of the morning looking for work, he had decided on impulse to see his former employer and ask for an early start on his job. To his great surprise, the ploy had succeeded. He had spent the remainder of the afternoon and evening at home, he said, "resting."

The Eighth Week. Nearly 2 months after his release from prison, Bill Upshaw had been regularly employed for only the 2 weeks preceding his eighth-week interview. He reported for this session wearing his work clothes and laughed at the fancy attire of a project participant who had finished his interview just as Bill was arriving. ("That's a month's rent he's got on his back," he commented.)

Now that he was back on the job, Bill seemed considerably more at ease with the interviewer and more alert to his surroundings. His present financial arrangements reflected the plans he and his girl friend had made earlier; he was paying half the rent and $75 a month toward other household expenses. He was using the weekly supplement obtained from the project for incidentals and for payments on his mother's car. However, his younger brother had smashed a fender and part of the hood, leaving Bill without transportation until he or the brother could pay for repairs. He reported a quarrel with his brother over the car and another with his sister over money. (Bill had nonetheless lent her $15.)

He reported an accidental contact with two prison acquaintances during the week (saying "We had a couple of drinks.") but no purchase or sale of stolen goods and no contact with law enforcement authorities.

The Thirteenth Week. The 13th-week interview found Bill Upshaw well settled in his job and in a relaxed frame of mind. He drew the interviewer's attention to the fact that he was "all dressed up" for the interview and acknowledged that his shirt, jacket, and shoes were new. He was eager to make it clear, however, that he had paid for the new clothes out of his wages rather than the weekly allotment from the project, which, he stressed, had been used instead to help pay for a hearing aid. (The latter may also have contributed to the improvement in his spirits, since he no longer had to strain to hear the interviewer's questions or ask to have them repeated.)

His mother had returned from her summer job on the Eastern Shore, and Bill indicated that his younger brother and sister were now under her supervision and less likely to ask him for money. His girl friend planned to begin working full time

as soon as she could arrange day care for the children. Meanwhile, she and Bill were maintaining the financial arrangements adopted earlier.

During the previous week, Bill had spent three evenings working on some appliance-repair jobs he had secured from his neighbors. He had spent his remaining free hours in front of the TV set. On the preceding day, described as "usual," he had played with the children after dinner and then worked on a repair job until about 10 p.m.

Since Bill had been employed during a portion of the 13 weeks, his weekly payment had been correspondingly reduced and his $780 allotment was not yet exhausted. The interview, therefore, did not include a question inviting him to assess the impact of the financial aid on his situation after leaving prison.

He described his use of time on the preceding day as "usual." He had spent morning and afternoon at work; in the evening, he and his girl friend had provided dinner for Bill's brother and sister before visiting some neighbors in the housing project. They returned to their own apartment at about 10 p.m.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The most significant outcome of the Baltimore experiment is the finding that financial aid reduced theft arrests among the men participating in the study from a rate of 30 per hundred to 22 per hundred, an effective reduction of 27 percent. In terms of social and economic costs to victims, to the criminal processing and correctional systems, and to the offenders themselves, this is a very promising result, especially in light of the fact that very few (if any) treatment approaches in rehabilitative programs show comparable reductions in recidivism.

In addition, the positive effects of financial aid remained apparent through the second year following release from prison, with no more than a slight rise in the arrest rates for theft of those who had received a weekly stipend during the 13 weeks after their return to freedom. This finding underscores the potential long-term impact of the ex-offender's experiences in the first few months "outside," when he or she is most vulnerable to rebuff by employers, family, and friends. For some ex-prisoners, a few positive occurrences and/or supportive responses during these crucial months may be enough to prompt a permanent decriminalization of their behavior patterns. The second-year arrest rates also indicate that a limited investment in financial aid, when prorated over several years following release, may be even smaller than first-year costs would suggest.

It is also essential to note that no apparent work disincentive resulted from the financial aid. In the first few weeks following their release, any contrasts in the employment pattern of financial aid recipients and nonrecipients can be accounted for by the slightly longer job searches undertaken by those receiving the weekly stipend; by midyear, in fact, those receiving financial aid were somewhat more likely to be employed than were the nonrecipients.

Although the job placement service had no impact on either employment rates or arrest rates, the fact that the jobholders—whether or not they received financial aid or placement assistance—were less likely to be arrested than were the unemployed provides a strong justification for further experimentation with efforts to secure stable employment for those leaving prison. The relationships between labor market success and such personal attributes as "maturity" also warrant additional exploration.

Examination of the social characteristics of the men participating in the study suggests that those who were most disadvantaged—i.e., the least educated, the least experienced in the labor market, the dischargees in contrast to the parolees—benefited the most. In other words, financial aid offset some of the liabilities of the most severely handicapped.

The available evidence points to perceptible alterations in the men's lifestyle, personal relationships, and outlook as a result of the financial aid. The most important finding in this regard concerns the positive impact on relationships with family and friends as the men experienced a heightened degree of financial independence and psychological autonomy. There are also some indications that the financial aid provided a vitally needed emotional boost at a time when the temptations of a criminal lifestyle may be at their strongest.

Finally, it is essential to note that the weekly stipend offered to the Baltimore ex-offenders was a small sum, both in absolute terms and in relation to the cost of the crimes it prevented. The financial pressures experienced by most ex-offenders immediately after release are small scale, rather than exorbitant, and can be met with more ease than is readily apparent to the casual observer. However, it is the released offender's frequent

incapacity to meet even these limited needs with gate money and savings from prison wages that discourages many who are seeking to avoid a return to crime.

An earlier section of this report stated that a number of the previously employed men participating in the study had lost their entitlement to unemployment insurance because they had been incarcerated for more than 1 year. Although it is difficult to estimate the annual levels of such entitlement losses, the nationwide dollar total in a given year is unquestionably considerable and should be taken into account in calculating the possible cost of providing short-term financial aid to released prisoners on a more premanent basis. It remains to be determined, on the basis of the Baltimore, Georgia, and Texas experiments, whether such aid should, in fact, be made available on a larger scale. The results of the Baltimore experiment indicate that such an investment could be made in reasonable expectation of a desirable outcome.

APPENDIXES

A. The Research Design

The Target Population

Conducting a true experiment in a natural setting is a costly operation, mainly because data must be collected both before and after the test period during which "effects" are being measured. In this study, the test period was the first year after release, when monthly interviews were scheduled with each man. Since many men did not show up each month, a sizable field staff was employed to go out and find them and conduct interviews in their homes or in the street—a difficult job with ex-prisoners, who move frequently and who sometimes prefer to conceal their whereabouts, especially if they are engaged in illegal activity. Under these circumstances, the study was designed to avoid wasting cases; instead, it was necessary to maximize the probability that each man in the experiment had the potential of being rearrested after release from prison.

For this reason, the target population included all men released from a Maryland state prison between October 1, 1971, and July 15, 1973, who were returning to Baltimore and who:

1. Were not first offenders.
2. Had committed a property crime at least once.
3. Were aged 18 through 45 years.
4. Had not been on work release for 3 months or more or had less than $400 in savings.
5. Were not alcoholics or heroin users.
6. Were willing and available to be interviewed in prison and were willing to be part of the research study for a year after release.

Reporting for the First Interview after Release

The process by which the men were randomly assigned among four treatment groups has been described earlier in this report. The men assigned to Groups I or II were to receive financial aid and were asked to report to the main (LIFE) office in Baltimore; those assigned to Groups III or IV were to get no financial aid and were given the address of another office (CINCO). The two offices, LIFE and CINCO, had been set up so that men receiving financial aid would not mingle with those who were not receiving it. Men in Groups I and III were to be offered job placement assistance. During the prison interview, however, the prisoner was told nothing about either financial aid or job placement; instead, he was simply asked to report one of the two offices as soon as he was released to pick up his $5 for the interview conducted in prison and, if he was going to participate in the study, to have his first monthly interview.

The purpose of not disclosing the nature of the program until participants reported to the proper office was to keep the stimulus for the first visit the same for all men regardless of their group assignment. It was expected that a sizable number of men would drop out of the project after their release from prison, and the staff wanted that loss to be the same for all four groups. If the men assigned to Groups I and II had been told that they would receive financial aid, obviously they would have been more likely to report than would those not scheduled to receive such aid.

As it turned out, the issue never arose, since almost all of the subjects reported at least once. Only seven men never reported—two in Group II who were scheduled to receive financial aid only; two in Group III who were scheduled for job placement service only; and three in Group IV who were to get neither service. One of the men in Group II who didn't report, an 18-year-old, was forbidden to do so by his father. The other man in Group II, a 30-year-old, said that prison had been so bitter an experience that he wanted to erase it from his memory. The other five men gave false addresses and the staff was not able to locate them—until they were rearrested.

Most of the men in the study reported to the LIFE/CINCO offices within 2 or 3 days of release from prison. If a subject did not appear, he was

contacted by telephone or a telegram was sent to his home. If he still didn't report, a staff member visited him personally and asked him to come to the office to pick up his payment for the interview held in prison. Until he came to the office, he was not told about financial aid or job placement assistance.

The Financial Aid Program

Upon reporting, a subject in Group I (which was to receive both financial aid and job placement service) was told that he would receive $60 a week for 13 weeks, or a total of $780, if he remained unemployed during those 13 weeks. If he got a job during that period, the weekly amount would be reduced, but the payments would be extended beyond the 13 weeks until he had exhausted his $780. He was guaranteed the $780 total because the weekly payment was not intended to discourage him from taking a job. Nonetheless, some recipients may have been less than eager to look for a job or to take the first one that came along, while others may have reported a false employmemt status in order to receive their full $780 as soon as possible.

If a man was scheduled to receive financial aid, he was given his first check on his first visit. He was also issued an identity card with his photograph on it, so he could cash his check in a commercial bank or check-cashing service in the neighborhood of the office. Both the bank and the check-cashing service were informed of the program, and both cooperated by honoring the identity card. Understandably, the men tended to be skeptical—about the program itself and about whether the bank would cash their checks. On the first visit, a staff member usually escorted the man, his check and identity card in hand, and introduced him to one of the tellers, to be sure his first check was cashed without incident.

If a man found a job, his weekly payment was not reduced for the first week of employment. That is, in the week that he found a job he was still given the $60 but was advised that in subsequent weeks the amount would be reduced so long as he was working. If he earned less than $40, his weekly payment remained at $60; if he earned $40 or more, it was reduced according to the schedule of earnings shown:

Weekly gross earnings	*Weekly financial aid*
Less than $40	$60
$40 to $49	$55
$50 to $59	$50
$60 to $69	$45
$70 to $79	$40
$80 to $89	$35
$90 to $99	$30
$100 to $109	$25
$110 to $119	$20
$120 to $150	$15
Over $150	0

Each subject was told that he was free to spend the money any way he wanted and that he would get the financial aid whether he looked for a job or not. If he was sent back to jail or prison, his payments would be interrupted while he was incarcerated, but they would be resumed once he was free. However, there was a time limit: he had to use up the money within a year after he came into the study. (Nine men did not receive the full $780 because they were sent back to prison and remained there beyond the 1-year limit.)

To receive the weekly payment, the subject had to report in person. (The only exception to this rule was personal delivery of checks to those hospitalized.) When picking up a check each week, the subject was interviewed briefly to determine his living arrangements (including any change of address) and his work situation.

The Job Placement Service

Unemployed men in Group I were also offered job placement assistance on the first and each subsequent visit. The job placement service was run by two employees of the Maryland State employment service who had been assigned to the study. From time to time, four or five project staff members also helped to place the men in jobs.

The principal sources of job openings were the job bank—a computerized list of all job openings produced daily by the State employment service—the daily newspaper, and a list compiled previously by the employment service personnel of potential employers who had indicated a willingness to hire ex-prisoners. The list was extended by placing ads in business magazines asking for job openings for ex-prisoners, and some job openings were identified by the staff or by some of the employed subjects.

It was generally left to the man himself to decide the kind of job he wanted. Men who had some work experience could usually narrow their interest to two or three kinds of jobs they could handle and would accept, but finding suitable work for the men who had little or no work experience was more difficult. For them, it usually took several hours of discussion and many suggestions to work out a job plan.

Once a job opening turned up, the staff first called the employer to get more details about the position and to ask if he objected to hiring an ex-prisoner. If bonding was an issue and if the subject would be denied a bond by a private bonding agency, the staff was prepared to get a bond through the State.[1] When an interview was required, a staff member would often accompany the subject and speak to the employer on his behalf. Sometimes, the staff filled out the job application or prepared a short form for the man to carry with him, containing the information likely to be asked on a job application. Résumés were also mailed to potential employers, and training sessions were conducted on how to look for a job and how to handle a job interview. Some men were assisted in getting physical examinations, driver's licenses, social security cards, or special tools.

In short, the staff adopted a shotgun approach, trying anything and everything, tailoring efforts to the needs of each participant. Some men needed very little—given an opening, they could secure a job by themselves. Others were a problem; no matter how much help was supplied, they weren't able to land a job.

To the extent that the job placement service was fitted to the needs of each man, the project broke one of the basic rules of a good experiment—that one should test only what is reproducible. The service was not reproducible, nor was it intended to be; rather, the aim was to test the effect of the variable, "employment," on the behavior of ex-prisoners. The project staff therefore sought to increase the employment rates among two groups (I and III), and then to see if these groups had lower rates of recidivism than the other two groups (II and IV). Since a sizable number of men in each group would find jobs on their own, the project's concern was to find jobs for those who would normally be unemployed.

While the men in Group II received the same financial aid as those in Group I but without the job placement service, the men in Group III got the job placement service but not the financial aid. Staff members tried to give the men in Group III the same job service as those in Group I received, but this was not possible since the two groups reported to different offices and worked with different personnel. Moreover, during their first 3 months after release, the men in Group I came into the office every week to pick up their checks and had the opportunity to use the job placement service each time, while the men in Group III came in only once a month. The latter were invited to use the service as often as they wished, but it was clearly not as incidentally accessible to them. This difference should not affect the results of the experiment, however, since the purpose was not to test the job placement effort, but rather to test the outcome of that effort: employment.

The men in Group IV, the control group, received neither financial aid nor job placement service. However, they were interviewed each month (as were the men in all the groups), for $5 plus carfare. One might argue that Group IV was not a "pure" control group because its members were subject to some attention, which in theory could affect their behavior. It is not likely that such effects occurred, but even if they did, they would not seriously change the findings, for the attention given the men was the same for all groups, and any differences among them could still be tied to the different treatments.

[1] Under the Federal Bonding Program applicable to all States, the Maryland employment service could obtain bond when it was a necessary condition for employment and the applicant was denied bonding by a commercial agency because of a criminal record.

B. The Prerelease Interview

Introduction

1. a) On what day will you be getting out?
   b) Are you being paroled or discharged?

Percent	Number	
77	(332)	paroled
13	(58)	discharged
10	(42)	mandatory parole

If paroled:

c) How long will you be on parole?

Percent	Number	
15	(65)	1 to 3 months
10	(45)	4 to 6 months
17	(71)	7 to 12 months
17	(72)	13 to 24 months
17	(75)	25 to 60 months
11	(46)	more than 60 months
(13	(58)	discharged)

Residence

2. At what address will you be living?
3. a) Who do you expect to live with?

	Yes		No		Don't know	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Mother	59	(255)	41	(176)	—	(1)
Father	31	(133)	69	(298)	—	(1)
Wife	9	(40)	91	(391)	—	(1)
Siblings	55	(236)	45	(195)	—	(1)
In-laws	6	(26)	94	(405)	—	(1)
Children	11	(46)	89	(385)	—	(1)
Second-degree relative	21	(92)	79	(339)	—	(1)
Girl friend	5	(21)	95	(410)	—	(1)
Male friend	2	(10)	98	(421)	—	(1)
Alone	4	(16)	96	(415)	—	(1)

b) Will anyone else be living there? If yes: Who?

4. What kind of place do you expect to live in? A house, an apartment, a furnished room, a hotel, or what?

Percent	*Number*	
74	(320)	house
19	(84)	apartment
4	(15)	housing project
1	(3)	furnished room
2	(10)	other (boarding house, halfway house)

5. How does [the person living with] support him/herself?

Percent	*Number*	
59	(256)	works full time
16	(69)	welfare, public assistance
4	(18)	works part time
11	(48)	other (social security, pension, retirement, etc.)
7	(30)	don't know/not available
3	(11)	data not applicable (will live alone)

Social Relations

6. Are you now married, single, divorced, or separated?

Percent	*Number*	
73	(316)	single
11	(49)	separated
10	(45)	married
5	(22)	divorced, widowed, other

7. a) Do you have any children?
   If yes:
   b) How many?

Percent	*Number*	
21	(89)	one child
13	(58)	two children
7	(28)	three children
4	(18)	four children
4	(15)	five or more children
2	(8)	not available
(50	(216)	no children)

If single, skip to question 10.

8. How many times have you been married?

Percent	*Number*	
26	(111)	one time
1	(4)	two times
(73	(317)	never married)

9. How long have you been married to your present wife?

Percent	*Number*	
4	(19)	2 years or less
7	(28)	3 to 5 years
4	(17)	6 to 8 years
2	(8)	9 to 11 years
3	(13)	12 to 15 years
2	(9)	16 years or more
.	(1)	not available
(78	(337)	never married or divorced)

If not married and not planning to live with girl friend:

10. Do you have a girl friend you may see?

Percent	Number	
49	(212)	yes
37	(150)	no
(14	(61)	married or planning to live with girl friend)

If no girl friend or wife, skip to next section.

11. Has your [wife/girl friend] ever been arrested?

Percent	Number	
6	(26)	yes
54	(235)	no
3	(12)	don't know/not available
(37	(159)	no wife or girl friend)

12. Would you say your [wife/girl friend] has a problem with drinking?

Percent	Number	
1	(4)	yes
61	(265)	no
1	(4)	don't know/not available
(37	(159)	no wife or girl friend)

13. Has your [wife/girl friend] ever tried heroin?

Percent	Number	
1	(5)	yes
60	(261)	no
2	(7)	don't know/not available
(37	(159)	no wife or girl friend)

Family Background

14. Where were your mother and father born?

Mother:

Percent	Number	
32	(137)	Baltimore and peripheral counties: Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford, Howard
3	(14)	outside Baltimore area, but in Maryland
51	(219)	outside Maryland, but in U.S. mainland
2	(7)	outside United States
13	(55)	don't know/not available

Region:

Percent	Number	
3	(12)	Middle Atlantic
80	(347)	South Atlantic
2	(8)	East South Central
1	(4)	other in United States
2	(7)	outside United States
13	(54)	don't know

Father:

Percent	Number	
26	(114)	Baltimore and peripheral counties: Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford, Howard
2	(9)	outside Baltimore area, but in Maryland
53	(227)	outside Maryland, but in U.S. mainland
1	(6)	outside United States
18	(76)	don't know/not available

Region:

Percent	Number	
4	(16)	Middle Atlantic
73	(315)	South Atlantic
2	(10)	East South Central
2	(9)	other in United States
1	(6)	outside United States
18	(76)	don't know

15. a) Are both your parents alive?

Percent	Number	
61	(266)	mother and father alive
7	(30)	father alive, mother dead
18	(77)	mother alive, father dead
8	(34)	mother and father dead
6	(25)	other

If either or both parents are dead:

b) How old were you when your mother died?

Percent	Number	
4	(18)	10 years old or less
3	(11)	11 to 15 years old
3	(13)	16 to 20 years old
5	(22)	21 years old or more
84	(362)	data not applicable (mother living)
1	(6)	don't know/not available

c) How old were you when your father died?

Percent	Number	
8	(34)	10 years old or less
5	(21)	11 to 15 years old
5	(21)	16 to 20 years old
7	(29)	21 years old or more
7	(29)	don't know/not available
69	(298)	data not applicable (father living)

If both parents are alive:

d) Are your parents living together?

Percent	Number	
29	(123)	yes
36	(155)	no
(36	(154)	one or both parents dead)

16. Who did you live with when you were:

	5 years old		10 years old		15 years old	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Mother alone, or mother and other relatives	25	(107)	31	(134)	35	(149)
Father alone, or father and other relatives	2	(11)	2	(8)	3	(11)
Mother and father	58	(253)	50	(214)	38	(165)
Mother and stepfather	2	(9)	2	(10)	3	(14)
Father and stepmother	1	(3)	1	(5)	1	(6)
Grandmother and/or other relatives	9	(37)	9	(39)	10	(45)
Institutional living	3	(12)	5	(22)	10	(42)

17. a) Were the persons who raised you ever on welfare (public assistance) while you were growing up?

If yes:
b) Roughly for how long?

Percent	*Number*	
3	(13)	less than 1 year
3	(14)	1 to 2 years
1	(6)	2 to 3 years
2	(9)	3 to less than 4 years
2	(8)	4 to less than 5 years
8	(34)	5 years or more
11	(47)	yes; don't know how long
4	(18)	don't know/not available
(66	(283)	no)

18. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

	Brothers		*Sisters*		*Total siblings*	
	Percent	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*
None	13	(58)	13	(55)	4	(16)
One	21	(89)	26	(111)	9	(40)
Two	17	(73)	21	(92)	12	(53)
Three	17	(73)	15	(66)	12	(53)
Four	13	(58)	9	(39)	9	(39)
Five	9	(40)	7	(28)	11	(48)
Six	5	(22)	5	(23)	11	(49)
Seven or more	4	(18)	4	(16)	31	(132)
Don't know/not available	-	(1)	1	(2)	1	(2)

19. a) In the past 2 months have you received any letters from friends or relatives or had any visits from them?

If yes:
b) Who?

Percent	*Number*	
4	(19)	mother alone
24	(105)	mother and other relatives and/or friends
3	(12)	father alone with or without friends/relatives
4	(19)	mother and father with wife/girl friend
7	(29)	mother and father with friends and/or relatives
14	(59)	wife/girl friend with or without friends and relatives
7	(30)	wife/girl friend and mother
8	(33)	second degree relatives and/or siblings
20	(85)	friends unspecified and/or relatives unspecified
-	(1)	not available
(9	(40)	no)

20. a) Besides [the relative planning to live with], do you expect to see or talk with any relatives in the next month or so?

If yes:
b) Who?

Percent	*Number*	
3	(12)	mother alone
7	(29)	mother and/or brother, sister/family unspecified, NOT father
5	(20)	mother and father with or without other family
9	(40)	brothers and/or sisters
46	(199)	cousins and/or aunts, uncles, grandparents, nieces, nephews
1	(4)	children
5	(21)	friends and relatives, unspecified
4	(15)	other, including wife and/or father alone
2	(8)	don't know/not available
(19	(84)	no)

21. a) Has anyone in your family—whom you have lived with—ever been in prison?

If yes:
b) Who?

Percent	*Number*	
5	(20)	father and/or stepfather
28	(123)	brother
2	(7)	father and brothers
1	(5)	sister
2	(9)	grandparents, uncle, cousin, aunt
1	(3)	mother
1	(4)	other (multiples)
1	(2)	don't know/not available
(60	(259)	no)

22. a) Has anyone in your family—whom you have lived with—ever had a problem with drinking?

If yes:
b) Who?

Percent	*Number*	
10	(42)	father and/or stepfather
5	(22)	brother or sister
3	(12)	mother
3	(15)	other (multiples)
1	(3)	don't know/not available
78	(338)	no

23. a) Has anyone in your family—whom you have lived with—ever used heroin or other drugs?

Percent	*Number*	
8	(32)	yes
91	(397)	no
1	(3)	don't know/not available

If yes:
b) What drug?

Percent	*Number*	
4	(17)	heroin
3	(11)	other (combinations)
1	(5)	don't know/not available
(92	(399)	data not applicable)

Education and Job Training

24. How old were you when you left school?

Percent	Number	
3	(13)	10 to 13 years old
6	(25)	14 years old
15	(67)	15 years old
36	(156)	16 years old
21	(90)	17 years old
14	(59)	18 years old
4	(18)	19 years old or more
1	(4)	don't know/not available

25. a) What was the last grade you completed?

Percent	Number	
5	(23)	6th grade or less
55	(239)	7th to 9th grade
28	(119)	10th or 11th grade
9	(39)	12th grade
3	(11)	some college
-	(1)	don't know/not available

If high school graduate:
b) What kind of diploma did you get?

Percent	Number	
6	(24)	high school equivalency
4	(19)	regular academic
2	(8)	general
2	(7)	vocational
(87	(374)	did not graduate)

If not a high school graduate:
c) Why did you leave school?

Percent	Number	
28	(121)	fed up/following the crowd
21	(91)	arrested/legal matter
13	(57)	to take a job
11	(47)	suspended, expelled
7	(29)	family reasons
3	(15)	other (illness, armed service, marriage)
5	(20)	don't know/not available
(12	(52)	high school graduate)

26. a) Did you receive any vocational training while you were in school?

If yes:
b) What kind of training?

Percent	Number	
11	(46)	carpentry/cabinetmaking
10	(43)	machine, metal shop, welding
6	(26)	auto mechanics, auto body, air frames
3	(14)	printing, sign painting, drafting, commercial/graphic arts
2	(11)	electrical construction and maintenance, industrial electronics, radio and TV
2	(7)	masonry
2	(7)	baking, commercial foods, cooking
1	(5)	paperhanging, painting
6	(28)	other
(57	(245)	no)

c) Have you ever gotten a job doing the kind of training you received?

If yes:

d) What kind of business did you work for?

Percent	*Number*	
4	(16)	construction firm
4	(16)	general commercial industry
2	(9)	shipping, steel firm
2	(7)	auto repair, gas station
1	(3)	government
2	(7)	other
1	(2)	other (multiples)
(30	(129)	no)
(56	(243)	data not applicable)

e) For how long?

Percent	*Number*	
3	(12)	6 months or less
2	(10)	7 months to less than 1 year
3	(14)	1 to 2 years
3	(13)	3 years or more
3	(11)	don't know/not available
(86	(372)	data not applicable)

27. a) Did you ever receive any job training in prison?

Percent	*Number*	
32	(137)	yes
68	(295)	no

If yes:

b) When was the training completed?

Percent	*Number*	
22	(93)	1971 to currently
4	(19)	1969 or 1970
5	(20)	1968 or earlier
1	(5)	don't know/not available
68	(295)	received no training

c) What kind of training?

Percent	*Number*	
9	(37)	welding, machine metal shop, pipefitting
4	(17)	auto mechanics
4	(16)	barber, laundry, tailoring, upholstery
3	(12)	masonry
3	(12)	baking, butchering, etc.
2	(11)	carpentry, woodworking
1	(3)	electronics
-	(1)	printing, drafting
6	(28)	other
(68	(295)	received no training)

d) Have you ever had a job doing the kind of training you received?

Percent	*Number*	
6	(26)	yes
25	(108)	no
1	(3)	don't know/not available
(68	(295)	received no training)

28. a) Have you ever applied to any vocational training program outside of prison?

If yes:
b) What kind of training program was it?

Percent	*Number*	
18	(80)	general training program
6	(24)	technical business, manager, owner, skilled office worker
4	(16)	craft worker, supervisor, skilled worker
3	(12)	other (service worker, operative, laborer)
1	(6)	don't know program
(68	(294)	no)

29. a) Would you like to go into a job training program after you are released?

If yes:
b) What kind?

Percent	*Number*	
22	(96)	craft worker, supervisor, skilled worker
19	(83)	technical, business manager, office worker
8	(33)	operative
6	(21)	general education
4	(18)	service worker
5	(23)	other
10	(44)	don't know/not available
(26	(114)	no)

Work Experience

30. a) Do you have any physical handicaps that would make it hard for you to find or to keep a job?

If yes:
b) What kind of handicap?

Percent	*Number*	
2	(7)	hearing
1	(5)	bad back
1	(5)	asthma
1	(2)	epilepsy/blackouts
1	(2)	hand injury or handicap
-	(1)	arthritis
3	(13)	other
(92	(397)	no)

31. Do you have a job arranged that you can work at when you leave?

Percent	*Number*	
58	(249)	yes
40	(172)	no
-	(1)	handicapped, public assistance
1	(2)	don't know/not available
2	(8)	data not applicable (in training program)

If yes:

32. a) What kind of work will you be doing?

Percent	Number	
13	(58)	drafter, supervisor, skilled worker
13	(55)	unskilled worker
12	(54)	operative
5	(22)	service worker
4	(16)	technical worker, business manager, office worker
3	(13)	laborer, maintenance
3	(13)	other
5	(21)	don't know/not available
(42	(180)	data not applicable)

b) Will it be full time, part time, or casual?

Percent	Number	
53	(228)	full time
4	(16)	part time, casual/temporary
2	(8)	don't know/not available
(42	(180)	data not applicable)

c) How was the job arranged?

Percent	Number	
23	(100)	friend or relative
12	(54)	former employer
12	(51)	employment service in prison/work-release program
2	(10)	union
2	(7)	other prison official (such as parole officer)
7	(29)	other
-	(1)	don't know/not available
(42	(180)	data not applicable)

d) How much will it pay per week before taxes?

Percent	Number	
2	(9)	$79 or less
5	(22)	$80 to $89
2	(11)	$90 to $99
9	(37)	$100 to $115
7	(29)	$116 to $129
4	(17)	$130 to $149
9	(41)	$150 and over
20	(86)	don't know (unspecified, casual, or commission salary)
(42	(180)	data not applicable)

e) How soon after you get out do you expect to start?

Percent	Number	
49	(209)	immediately, in 1 week
2	(10)	2 weeks
1	(5)	3 weeks
1	(5)	4 weeks or longer
5	(23)	don't know/not available
(42	(180)	data not applicable)

If no:

33. a) What kind of job will you be looking for?

Percent	Number	
6	(28)	operative
6	(26)	unskilled worker
6	(24)	craft worker, supervisor, skilled worker
5	(23)	want training/school
3	(11)	technical worker, business manager, office worker
3	(11)	service worker
2	(9)	laborer, maintenance
2	(9)	other
9	(38)	don't know/not available
(59	(253)	data not applicable)

b) At what kinds of places?

Percent	Number	
19	(84)	union
10	(42)	private employment service
6	(24)	Maryland State employment service
3	(13)	personnel office of company/companies
2	(8)	want training program/in school
1	(5)	newspaper ads
1	(3)	don't know/not available
(59	(253)	data not applicable)

c) How much do you expect to get per week before taxes?

Percent	Number	
4	(16)	$79 or less
3	(14)	$80 to $89
3	(15)	$90 to $99
5	(22)	$100 to $115
5	(21)	$116 to $129
2	(7)	$130 to $149
6	(26)	$150 and over
5	(21)	data not applicable (in training program/school)
9	(37)	on't know/not available
(59	(253)	data not applicable)

d) How soon after you get out are you planning to look for job?

Percent	Number	
2	(9)	already started by mail
29	(124)	immediately, in 1 week or less
2	(9)	2 to 3 weeks
-	(1)	4 to 5 weeks
5	(21)	data not applicable (in training program/school)
3	(15)	don't know/not available
(59	(253)	data not applicable)

e) How long do you think it will take before you find a job?

Percent	Number	
20	(86)	1 week or less
4	(17)	2 weeks
1	(6)	3 weeks
1	(4)	4 weeks or more
5	(21)	data not applicable (in training program/school)
10	(45)	don't know/not available
(59	(253)	data not applicable)

34. a) Can you drive a car?

If yes:
b) Do you have a driver's license for this State?

Percent	Number	
62	(269)	no, can drive but have no license for this State
19	(82)	yes, can drive and have license for this State
1	(3)	not available
(18	(78)	no, cannot drive)

35. a) Do you have any occupational licenses or training certification?

If yes:
b) List:

Percent	Number	
7	(30)	construction (heavy equipment, masonry, welding)
4	(19)	transportation
4	(15)	auto mechanics
2	(8)	health (preventive medical, technical, Job Corps, social services)
4	(18)	other technical
1	(4)	don't know/not available
(78	(338)	no)

36. a) Do you have any experience working in trades such as carpentry, plumbing, or mechanics?

If yes:
b) Doing what?

Percent	Number	
23	(100)	carpentry
15	(63)	auto mechanics
5	(23)	plumbing
4	(17)	welding
3	(12)	masonry
2	(8)	electrical work
1	(3)	painting
-	(1)	printing
1	(5)	other (tailoring, drafting, roofing)
-	(1)	don't know/not available
(46	(199)	no)

c) For how long?

Percent	Number	
21	(91)	less than 1 year
7	(29)	1 to 1½ years
3	(12)	1½ to less than 2 years
4	(18)	2 years to less than 3 years
5	(20)	3 years to less than 4 years
3	(14)	4 years to less than 6 years
7	(31)	6 years or more
4	(18)	don't know/not available
(46	(199)	no experience in trades)

37. Do you have any experience running office machines such as ditto machines, multilith, typewriters, etc.?

Percent	Number	
28	(120)	yes
72	(311)	no
-	(1)	don't know/not available

38. Have you ever belonged to a union?

Percent	Number	
6	(24)	yes, belong now
33	(145)	yes, did in the past
61	(263)	no, never

39. a) What is the longest you have ever been on one job?

Percent	Number	
4	(19)	never worked
12	(53)	3 months or less
13	(57)	4 to 6 months
8	(32)	7 to 8 months
5	(23)	9 to 11 months
14	(59)	1 year to 1½ years
8	(33)	1½ years to less than 2 years
13	(55)	2 years to less than 3 years
13	(58)	3 years to less than 5 years
10	(42)	5 years or more
-	(1)	don't know/not available

b) When was that?

Percent	Number	
6	(25)	less than a year ago
16	(69)	1 year to less than 2 years ago
16	(70)	2 years ago
17	(73)	3 years ago
9	(41)	4 years ago
9	(37)	5 years ago
9	(37)	6 years ago
13	(57)	7 years ago or more
1	(4)	don't know/not available
4	(19)	data not applicable (never worked)

c) How much pay were you getting a week before taxes at the end of that time?

Percent	Number	
10	(41)	less than $60
8	(36)	$60 to $65
7	(29)	$66 to $70
14	(62)	$71 to $80
13	(56)	$81 to $90
4	(16)	$91 to $95
11	(46)	$96 to $110
13	(54)	$111 to $149
14	(63)	$150 or more
2	(10)	don't know/not available
4	(19)	data not applicable (never worked)

d) Why did you leave?

Percent	Number	
32	(138)	arrested, other legal problems
18	(78)	fired/laid off
16	(71)	fed up, argument, etc.
16	(68)	found better job
5	(23)	went into school or army
4	(15)	physical or health reasons
3	(13)	other
2	(7)	don't know/not available
4	(19)	data not applicable (never worked)

40. a) What kind of work do you feel you can do best?

Percent	Number	
19	(83)	crafts, skilled work
19	(79)	operative
16	(71)	technical, business, office work
10	(44)	service work
10	(43)	unskilled work
4	(18)	labor, maintenance
10	(41)	other, almost anything
10	(44)	don't know/not available
2	(9)	data not applicable (never worked)

b) Where did you learn how to do that kind of work?

Percent	Number	
49	(213)	picked up on jobs/self-taught
13	(56)	in prison or reform school
8	(34)	in school
5	(22)	working with relative or friend
3	(12)	Concentrated Employment Program, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Target City
3	(11)	Job Corps, other manpower program
1	(6)	union or industry school
15	(67)	don't know/not available
3	(11)	data not applicable (never worked)

41. Were you working at the time you were arrested?

Percent	Number	
53	(230)	yes
46	(197)	no
1	(5)	other (in army, school, hospital)

If yes:

42. a) What kind of job did you have?

Percent	Number	
16	(67)	operative
11	(49)	unskilled worker
8	(35)	craft, skilled worker
7	(30)	service worker
4	(18)	labor, maintenance
3	(12)	technical, business, office worker
5	(20)	other
(46	(201)	data not applicable)

b) How much were you making?

Percent	Number	
8	(33)	$69 or less
4	(18)	$70 to $79
8	(36)	$80 to $89
5	(23)	$90 to $99
8	(33)	$100 to $115
4	(19)	$116 to $129
4	(17)	$130 to $149
10	(42)	$150 or more
2	(9)	don't know (unspecified, casual, or commission salary)
(47	(202)	data not applicable)

If no:

43. a) How long had you been unemployed?

Percent	Number	
9	(37)	4 weeks or less
19	(84)	1 month to 6 months
5	(20)	7 months to less than 1 year
3	(15)	1 year to less than 2 years
5	(21)	2 years or more
3	(11)	don't know/not available
3	(14)	never worked
(53	(230)	data not applicable)

b) How did you support yourself?

Percent	Number	
14	(59)	illegal activity
13	(56)	parent/relative/wife
5	(20)	loan/savings
4	(19)	worked off jobs
2	(10)	unemployment insurance
1	(4)	welfare/public assistance
1	(3)	work-study program
3	(15)	other (in army or hospital)
2	(7)	don't know/not available
2	(9)	never worked
(53	(230)	data not applicable)

Financial Problems

44. a) Have you ever received unemployment insurance payments from the State?

If yes:
b) How many times?

Percent	Number	
12	(53)	once
2	(10)	twice
1	(5)	three times
1	(2)	four times
-	(1)	don't know how many times
(84	(361)	no)

45. a) Have you ever been on welfare (public assistance)?

If yes:
b) How many times?

Percent	Number	
11	(9)	once
2	(8)	twice
1	(4)	three times
1	(5)	four times or more
(85	(366)	no)

c) For how long a period altogether?

Percent	Number	
7	(30)	1 to 2 months
3	(13)	3 to 5 months
4	(16)	6 months or more
1	(2)	other
1	(5)	don't know/not available
85	(366)	never on welfare

46. How much money will you have when you leave here?

Percent	Number	
7	(29)	$19 or less
27	(118)	$20 to $39
16	(69)	$40 to $59
10	(42)	$60 to $79
4	(19)	$80 to $99
9	(40)	$100 to $199
12	(52)	$200 or more
15	(63)	don't know/not available

47. a) Do you have any clothes or furniture?

If yes:
b) What?

Percent	Number	
47	(202)	clothes only
17	(73)	clothes and furniture
2	(8)	furniture only
1	(3)	don't know/not available
(34	(146)	no)

c) Do you own anything else?

If yes:
d) What?

Percent	Number	
5	(22)	car
5	(21)	radio, stereo, tape recorder
4	(15)	combination of above
4	(15)	other (TV, jewelry)
5	(21)	don't know/not available
(78	(338)	no)

48. a) Do you have alny money at home or in a bank?

If yes:
b) About how much?

Percent	Number	
4	(16)	$1 to $50
4	(15)	$51 to $100
4	(16)	$101 to $250
2	(8)	$251 or more
43		
(82	(358)	no)

49. a) Do you have any debts that you have to pay off when you get out?

If yes:
b) What are they for?

Percent	Number	
9	(37)	charge account, loan
5	(21)	car, furniture, appliance, etc.
4	(16)	legal suit, fine
2	(9)	child support
2	(9)	medical
2	(7)	taxes, government unspecified
3	(13)	other combinations, don't know
(74	(320)	no debts)

c) About how much do you owe?

Percent	Number	
6	(25)	$1 to $100
4	(16)	$101 to $200
4	(18)	$201 to $400
2	(7)	$401 to $600
3	(11)	$601 to $800
1	(6)	$801 to $1,000
3	(14)	$1,000 or over
4	(15)	have debts, but don't know how much
(74	(320)	no debts)

Criminal and Prison Experience

50. How old were you when you were first arrested?

Percent	Number	
8	(33)	10 years old or less
41	(179)	11 to 15 years old
41	(177)	16 to 20 years old
7	(31)	21 to 25 years old
3	(12)	26 years old or more

51. a) How many times have you been arrested, including the times when the charges were dropped or when you received a suspended sentence?

Percent	Number	
9	(40)	1 or 2 times
13	(56)	3 times
15	(64)	4 times
11	(48)	5 times
9	(39)	6 times
7	(31)	7 times
5	(21)	8 times
2	(8)	9 times
7	(29)	10 times
9	(38)	11 to 15 times
7	(30)	16 to 20 times
6	(28)	21 or more times

b) How many times have you been convicted?

Percent	Number	
14	(62)	1 time
21	(91)	2 times
20	(88)	3 times
13	(56)	4 times
7	(30)	5 times
7	(29)	6 times
4	(17)	7 times
3	(12)	8 times
3	(14)	9 times
8	(33)	10 or more times

c) How many times have you been in prison or reform school?

Percent	Number	
24	(105)	1 time
24	(102)	2 times
18	(78)	3 times
13	(54)	4 times
7	(30)	5 times
6	(24)	6 times
3	(12)	7 times
2	(9)	8 times
4	(18)	9 or more times

52. When were you released from prison on your previous conviction?
Month: Year:

53. How long were you in prison that time?

54. When were you arrested for your present conviction?
Month: Year:

55. a) What were you arrested for?

Percent	Number	
29	(125)	robbery
17	(74)	burglary
16	(71)	assault or murder
12	(50)	larceny
7	(31)	auto crimes
6	(26)	parole violation
3	(11)	sex crime
2	(8)	false pretenses
1	(6)	disorderly conduct
1	(6)	narcotics
6	(24)	other

If a parole violation:
b) Was it a technical violation or another charge?

Percent	Number	
5	(20)	technical
5	(21)	other charge, not available
(90	(391)	was not a parole violation)

c) What happened?

Percent	Number	
3	(11)	armed robbery/burglary
2	(8)	manslaughter, assault, assault on police officer
2	(8)	not seeing parole officer, leaving State, no employment
1	(4)	deadly weapon
1	(2)	nonsupport
2	(7)	other (larceny, malicious destruction of property, rogue and vagabond, etc.)
-	(1)	don't know/not available
(90	(391)	not a parole violation)

56. What is your sentence?

Percent	Number	
14	(60)	up to 6 months
11	(48)	6 months to 1 year
31	(134)	1 to 2 years
11	(47)	2 to 3 years
6	(25)	3 to 4 years
7	(31)	4 to 5 years
21	(87)	over 5 years

57. a) How old were you when you first went to a reformatory, jail, or prison?

Percent	Number	
7	(29)	10 years old or less
34	(146)	11 to 15 years old
44	(187)	16 to 20 years old
10	(44)	21 to 25 years old
4	(19)	26 to 30 years old
1	(6)	more than 30 years old
-	(1)	don't know/not available

b) How long were you there?

Percent	Number	
24	(103)	1 month or less
10	(44)	2 to 3 months
6	(25)	4 to 5 months
11	(48)	6 to 7 months
11	(48)	8 to 10 months
9	(39)	11 months to 1 year
17	(73)	1 to 2 years
11	(46)	more than 2 years
1	(6)	don't know/not available

c) What kind of place was that?

Percent	Number	
44	(189)	reformatory
36	(155)	prison
15	(68)	jail
4	(17)	other
1	(3)	don't know/not available

58. Roughly how much time altogether have you spent in reformatories, jails, and prisons?

Percent	Number	
13	(56)	1 year or less
15	(63)	1 to 2 years
13	(57)	2 to 3 years
19	(83)	3 to 5 years
15	(66)	5 to 7 years
11	(49)	7 to 10 years
9	(39)	10 to 16 years
3	(12)	more than 16 years
2	(7)	don't know/not available

59. Since you were first arrested, what is the longest period you have had without being arrested?

Percent	Number	
16	(68)	6 months or less
24	(104)	6 months to 1 yesr
21	(90)	1 to 2 years
20	(89)	2 to 4 years
15	(65)	more than 4 years
4	(16)	data not applicable, don't know/not available

60. Please tell me how many times you have been arrested for each of these common charges, even though you weren't convicted of the charge:

Charges	Not arrested		One time		Two times		Three times		Four times		Five times or more	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Murder and assault	38	(164)	35	(153)	13	(56)	6	(27)	2	(7)	6	(25)
Sex crimes	97	(416)	3	(14)	-	(1)	-	(1)	-	-	-	-
Robbery	52	(226)	35	(153)	8	(33)	1	(6)	1	(3)	3	(11)
Burglary/breaking and entering	43	(186)	26	(110)	15	(65)	7	(31)	4	(17)	5	(23)
False pretenses	96	(413)	4	(17)	-	(1)	-	(1)	-	-	-	-
Larceny, receiving/ possession of stolen goods	50	(217)	31	(134)	10	(45)	3	(13)	2	(7)	4	(16)
Auto larceny/ unauthorized use	57	(247)	26	(113)	9	(38)	3	(14)	2	(6)	3	(14)
Disorderly conduct	51	(219)	26	(115)	9	(39)	6	(27)	3	(13)	5	(19)
Narcotics	93	(400)	6	(28)	1	(4)	-	-	-	-	-	
Deadly weapon	68	(294)	24	(106)	5	(20)	2	(7)	1	(3)	1	(2)

61. a) How many times have you been on parole or probation?

Percent	Number	
40	(171)	one time
24	(104)	two times
11	(49)	three times
4	(17)	four times
3	(14)	five or more times
1	(2)	don't know/not available
17	(75)	none

b) How many violations have you had?

Percent	Number	
60	(259)	none
30	(128)	one
6	(27)	two
4	(16)	tree or more
1	(2)	don't know/not available

62. Do you have any cases pending, detainers, or warrants?

Percent	Number	
96	(415)	no
1	(6)	yes
3	(11)	don't know/not available

63. a) Did you have a regular job while you were in prison this time?

If yes:
b) What was it?

Percent	Number	
26	(111)	service worker
19	(84)	unskilled or menial worker
12	(54)	operative
9	(37)	maintenance, farmworker
8	(36)	craft or skilled worker
5	(20)	technical, office, medical worker
3	(12)	other
(18	(78)	no job)

Personal Habits

64. a) In the past 10 years or so, have you been in a hospital or other institution for treatment of any physical or emotional problem?

If yes:
b) For what kind of problem?

Percent	Number	
24	(105)	physical
14	(62)	accident or violence
4	(16)	emotional
1	(4)	drunkenness
(57	(245)	no)

c) When?

Percent	Number	
14	(60)	1 year ago
8	(34)	2 years ago
5	(21)	3 years ago
5	(21)	4 years ago
3	(11)	5 years ago
8	(35)	6 or more years ago
2	(10)	don't know/not available, more than once
(55	(240)	data not applicable)

65. Were you sick at any time during the past few weeks?

Percent	Number	
16	(67)	yes, physical
1	(2)	yes, emotional
84	(361)	no
1	(2)	don't know/not available

66. a) On the outside do you generally drink beer, whisky, or other alcoholic drinks?

b) Is drinking a problem for you, or do you get into trouble because of drinking?

Percent	Number	
6	(26)	yes, a problem or get into trouble
72	(312)	drink but no problem
22	(94)	don't drink

If problem or trouble:

c) Have you ever been treated in a clinic or hospital for alcoholism?

Percent	Number	
2	(7)	yes
4	(19)	no
(94	(406)	don't drink, not available for drinking question, drinking not a problem)

Background Information

67. Where were you born?

Percent	Number	
73	(315)	Baltimore and peripheral counties
2	(7)	outside Baltimore area, but in Maryland
25	(109)	outside Maryland
-	(1)	all others

By region:

Percent	Number	
2	(7)	New England and Middle Atlantic
97	(418)	South Atlantic
1	(6)	South Central
-	(1)	outside United States

By population of city/town:

Percent	Number	
2	(8)	under 50,000 population
75	(326)	500,000 population or more
23	(98)	don't know/not available

68. a) How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Percent	Number	
4	(19)	5 years or less
4	(19)	6 to 10 years
5	(22)	11 to 15 years
9	(36)	16 to 20 years
4	(19)	21 to 25 years
4	(18)	more than 25 years
70	(299)	entire life

If not always in Baltimore:

b) How old were you when you came to Baltimore?

Percent	Number	
13	(55)	5 years old or less
5	(21)	6 to 10 years old
5	(20)	11 to 15 years old
6	(27)	16 to 20 years old
5	(23)	21 years old or more
(66	(286)	lived there all life)

69. Who were you living with before you were arrested?

Percent	Number	
22	(99)	mother alone
6	(24)	mother, siblings, other
28	(119)	mother, father and other
5	(20)	siblings or alone
17	(72)	wife, children and other
6	(26)	second-degree relatives
10	(42)	other
7	(30)	alone

70. How many different places did you live during the year before you were arrested?

Percent	Number	
73	(317)	one
14	(62)	two
5	(21)	tree
3	(14)	four
4	(16)	five or more
1	(2)	don't know/not available

71. a) Were you ever in the armed services?

Percent	Number	
11	(47)	yes
88	(382)	no
1	(3)	don't know/not available

If yes:

b) Did you receive any job training in the service?

Percent	Number	
7	(29)	yes
4	(18)	no
1	(2)	don't know/not available
(89	(383)	never in service)

c) What kind of discharge did you get?

Percent	Number	
6	(27)	honorable
1	(5)	dishonorable
1	(4)	general
3	(11)	other (undesirable)
1	(2)	don't know/not available
(89	(383)	never in service)

Where to Get More Information

For more information on this and other programs of research and development funded by the Employment and Training Administration, contact the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20213, or any of the Regional Administrators for Employment and Training whose addresses are listed below.

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